

South Dakota State University

## Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange

---

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

---

1988

### Images of Kuwaiti Women : A Content Analysis of Representative Selections from the Literature with Accompanying Annotated Bibliography

Texas Sabine Swanjord

Follow this and additional works at: <https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd>

---

#### Recommended Citation

Swanjord, Texas Sabine, "Images of Kuwaiti Women : A Content Analysis of Representative Selections from the Literature with Accompanying Annotated Bibliography" (1988). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 4546.

<https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/4546>

This Thesis - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact [michael.biondo@sdstate.edu](mailto:michael.biondo@sdstate.edu).

IMAGES OF KUWAITI WOMEN: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
REPRESENTATIVE SELECTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE  
WITH ACCOMPANYING ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

TEXAS SABINE SWANJORD

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Major in Sociology

South Dakota State University

1988



IMAGES OF KUWAITI WOMEN: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
REPRESENTATIVE SELECTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE  
WITH ACCOMPANYING ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Dr. Donna J. Hess  
Thesis Advisor

Date

Dr. James L. Satterlee  
Head, Rural Sociology Department

Date

IMAGES OF KUWAITI WOMEN: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
REPRESENTATIVE SELECTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE  
WITH ACCOMPANYING ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abstract

TEXAS SABINE SWANJORD

This is a descriptive study of the literature about Kuwaiti women published in either English or Arabic in the 20th century. Images of Kuwaiti women are examined in order to assess the literature from which these images are drawn. The study first reviews the literature about Muslim women in the Middle East and then the specific literature about Kuwaiti women. The sociology of knowledge is discussed in terms of its theoretical imperatives after which research areas which serve as background to the study are reviewed. The study goes on to organize the literature about Kuwaiti women. A sample is drawn after which indicators of women's status and role are employed to assign each published work to categories expressed as modern, secular, fundamental and traditional. Finally, the categorized selections are compared with factors of their production such as language, education of the writer, occupation of the writer and the writer's sex and nationality. The study concludes with a discussion of trends and clusters among the data and identification of continuing gaps and inconsistencies in the research area. An annotated bibliography is appended to the study.

## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated with love and respect to the memory of Dr. Marvin P. Riley; to my mother, Vivian Sabine; to my husband, Don Edward Swanjord; and to my major advisor, Dr. Donna J. Hess. I benefit from my relationship with each of them. The benefits will not cease and neither will my appreciation.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Secretaries, librarians, and typists from California to Kuwait have given valuable support to the work of this dissertation. In Brookings, I especially thank Jan Fite, library associate; Deb Gilchrist, research librarian; Lu Ann Burckhardt, secretary; and Alice Molengraaf, typist. In Kuwait, I thank typists Thomas George and David Cherian. I thank also translators Don Edward Swanjard and Dr. Walid Abu-Ulbah. At many crossroads, Dr. Linda Baer and Elise Seymour provided welcome encouragement for which I am grateful. Dr. Jim Satterlee, head of the Rural Sociology Department, and the many faculty with whom I studied at South Dakota State University were generous with ideas, assistance, and challenges for which I thank them all.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
Background . . . . .	4
Physical and Population Changes . . . . .	4
Economic Catapult . . . . .	5
Townfolk and Bedouin. . . . .	6
Change Reflected in Reports and Interpretations . . . . .	8
The Problem . . . . .	10
CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE. . . . .	13
The Middle East . . . . .	13
Muslim Women in the Middle East . . . . .	16
Literature in Arabic. . . . .	17
Literature in English . . . . .	18
Kuwaiti Women . . . . .	20
Literature in English . . . . .	21
Literature in Arabic. . . . .	23
Key Concepts and Themes . . . . .	24
Hjarpe's Model of Points of View. . . . .	25
Summary . . . . .	29
CHAPTER 3 THEORY. . . . .	32
The Sociology of Knowledge. . . . .	32
The Sociology of Knowledge in the United States . . . . .	37
Human Thought and Social Reality. . . . .	38
Perspective . . . . .	39
Studies in the Sociology of Knowledge . . . . .	42

	Page
The Sociology of Knowledge and the Literature About Kuwaiti Women . . . . .	45
Key Theoretical Concepts. . . . .	47
Summary . . . . .	48
CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY . . . . .	50
Research Design . . . . .	50
Applications in this Study. . . . .	52
The Population. . . . .	53
Sampling. . . . .	55
Variables and Definitions . . . . .	59
Recording and Categorization. . . . .	65
Context . . . . .	69
Data Reduction. . . . .	69
Independent Variables and Their Categorization. . . . .	72
Summary . . . . .	78
CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS . . . . .	79
Findings . . . . .	79
Geographic Origin of the Literature . . . . .	80
Language of the Literature. . . . .	85
Time of Writing of the Literature . . . . .	88
Type of Literature. . . . .	92
Profession of the Author. . . . .	95
Education of the Author . . . . .	98
Sex of the Author . . . . .	101
Nationality of the Author . . . . .	104

	Page
Analysis of Findings. . . . .	.107
Factors of Production . . . . .	.109
Geographic Origin of the Literature . . . . .	.109
Language of the Literature. . . . .	.112
Time the Literature Was Written . . . . .	.115
Type of Literature. . . . .	.120
The Authors . . . . .	.120
Profession of the Author. . . . .	.120
Education of the Author . . . . .	.121
Sex of the Author . . . . .	.123
Nationality of the Author . . . . .	.123
Summary . . . . .	.124
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS . . . . .	.125
Overview . . . . .	.125
Major Findings of This Study . . . . .	.126
Findings in Relation to the Sociology of Knowledge . . . . .	.130
Implications for Future Research . . . . .	.132
Limitations . . . . .	.134
NOTES . . . . .	.136
Chapter 1 . . . . .	.136
Chapter 2 . . . . .	.140
Chapter 3 . . . . .	.151
Chapter 4 . . . . .	.159
APPENDICES . . . . .	.163

	Page
Appendix A Author and Date of the 85 Titles Used in the Study. . . . .	.164
Appendix B Details of Independent Variables: Population. .	.168
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS ON WOMEN IN KUWAIT . . . . .	.170
REFERENCES. . . . .	.186



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 Different Effects of Muslim Perspectives on the Status and Role of Women . . . . .	30
3.1 Forms of Comparison. . . . .	41
4.1 Example of Chronological Listing of Population . .	57
4.2 Example of Five Digit Code Numbering . . . . .	58
4.3 Details of Independent Variables: Sample Units. .	60
4.4 Comparison of Sample With Total Population . . . .	61
4.5 Schema of Variables. . . . .	66
4.6 Coding Dependent Variables: A . . . . .	70
4.7 Coding Dependent Variables: B . . . . .	71
4.8 Categorizing From the Rough Data Sheets (Status) .	73
4.9 Categorizing From the Rough Data Sheets (Role) . .	74
4.10 Segmentation of Independent Variable Designations: Factors of Production (Sample Units) . . . . .	75
4.11 Segmentation of Independent Variable Designations: Characteristics of Author (Sample Units) . . . . .	76
5.1 Selected Characteristics of Production and Author for Sample Units . . . . .	81
5.2a Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Geographic Origin of Literature (Status). . . . .	82
5.2b Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Geographic Origin of Literature (Role). . . . .	83
5.3a Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Language of Literature (Status). . . . .	86
5.3b Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Language of Literature (Role) . . . . .	87
5.4a Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Time the Literature was Written (Status). . . . .	90

## Figure

## Page

5.4b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Time the Literature was Written (Role) . . . . .	91
5.5a	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Type of Literature (Status) . . . . .	93
5.5b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Type of Literature (Role) . . . . .	94
5.6a	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Profession of the Author (Status) . . . . .	96
5.6b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Profession of the Author (Role) . . . . .	97
5.7a	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Education of the Author (Status) . . . . .	99
5.7b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Education of the Author (Role) . . . . .	100
5.8a	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Sex of the Author (Status) . . . . .	102
5.8b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Sex of the Author (Role) . . . . .	103
5.9a	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Nationality of the Author (Status) . . . . .	105
5.9b	Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality by Nationality of the Author (Role) . . . . .	106
5.10	Summary of Dependent Variables: Sample Units. . .	108

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the literature about Kuwaiti women as a specific portion of the literature about women in the Middle East. This examination describes the volume of these materials, the ways in which they portray the lifeworld of Kuwaiti women and some of the factors related to the materials' production. These elements of the study allow the reader to see similarities and differences among the portrayals of these women as they have been represented over the past seventy years by many different observers.

In the literature about Kuwaiti women, the earliest writings in English are descriptive and anecdotal within a colonialist context, while later materials, still descriptive for the most part, focus more on the effects of modernization and wealth on education, employment, health and population. Literature in Arabic about Kuwaiti women was dominated at first by female activists for rights and recognition after which male scholars began to contribute studies about women's social roles and changing attitudes, while female scholars began to examine larger social issues such as development planning.

Concepts such as those mentioned above and others found most prevalent in the general literature about Muslim women in the Middle East are taken as indicators of the variables considered in this study of the literature about Kuwaiti women. Referring to

elements concerning the position of women, they most often refer to women's status and women's roles. These concepts are taken as dependent variables for this study. Using these concepts adequately covers those elements present in the literature about Kuwaiti women and reveals areas which have not yet claimed attention in research.

There are several reasons for extending this study specifically to consider the position of women in the Middle East in light of their status and roles. First are the current concerns in Western societies about women in Western cultures and the fact that many of the studies which are initiated to meet these concerns are focused to specific events and realities in the United States, Britain, Scandinavia or the European continent. These studies have been concerned with issues directly related to the roles and status of women.<sup>1</sup> A second reason for specifically considering status and roles of women in the Middle East is the amount of attention currently directed by Middle Eastern writers both to the role of women in Islam and the tendency to idealize complementary roles as prescribed in basic Islamic precepts rather than equal status as preferred in Western ideal models. Islam is the predominant religion in the lands south and southeast of the Mediterranean sea: northern Africa, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, the Arabian and Gulf States among them. In these considerations, the ideal relationship between men and women has been religiously established. Although this relationship is variously interpreted in Islamic thought, debate about the relationship most usually centers on how

appropriately a society conforms to the ideal.<sup>2</sup> The debate about the position of women is pursued in Western countries according to interpretation and creation of secular law which is democratically influenced or, at least, is expected to respond to rational argument. In the Middle East, the determinations and interpretations, even in secular law, are grounded in religious and traditional sources.

A third and equally persuasive reason for considering the position of women in the Middle East in light of their status and roles is that Western scholars conducting research in the Middle East most often use these concepts; until more Eastern scholars enter the field, the majority of studies will be accomplished by researchers trained in the West.

While collections and studies regarding women in other parts of the Middle East are widely circulated, literature about women in the Gulf region remains relatively unattended. Yet, changes in Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and other of these wealthy oil emirates have attracted world attention and have inspired numerous books and studies. Among these reports, those about Kuwait and its rise from a poor and simple village and pastoral life to a position of regional leadership are richly varied. The earliest writings about Kuwaiti women appeared before 1920. This literature has grown in volume until now it includes close to 100 separate items. The following material, outlining briefly the history and development of Kuwait, provides a contextual backdrop for the literature reviewed and analyzed.

### Background

Kuwait<sup>3</sup>, a young and vigorous oligarchical state in the Middle East, covers 6,960 square miles of the northeastern corner of the Arabian peninsula south of the junction at which the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Arabian-Persian Gulf. It is bordered on the West and South by Saudi Arabia, on the North by Iraq and has an extensive shoreline on the Gulf to its East. Closely allied with the desert bedouin, members of the Al-Şabāḥ family have been the traditional rulers of the Kuwaiti peoples since about 1752, maintaining the seat of their government in the headland between Kuwait bay and the Gulf. This area was, until 1957, set off from the hinterland by a mud-brick wall. Presently a green-belt girdles the village-become-metropolis, now called Kuwait City, and the wall, except for its gates, has been replaced by a ring road, parking lots and recreation facilities.

### Physical and Population Changes

Today, modern villas and high-rise apartment buildings have obliterated traces of the old trading, fishing and pearling villages of mud-brick which clustered along the edge of the Gulf waters. Gone are the tracks which the villagers followed. In their place are multi-lane freeways converging at the hub, Kuwait City. The nomads who migrated annually from deep within the Arabian Peninsula following successive pastures and water sources have gradually become Saudi, Iraqi, or Kuwaiti citizens, according to where their interests lie. Including all these villages, near

the turn of the century the population of Kuwait numbered barely 35,000. It was nearly 100,000 at mid-century and by 1985 included more than a million and a half residents.<sup>4</sup> The villages have been absorbed into conurbation, the desert bedouin have settled into suburban communities and Kuwait has all but lost tangible reminders of its history.

### Economic Catapult

Kuwait, which in the early decades of this century was among the countries with a per capita income of less than U.S. \$100, by the 1930s had lost its pearling industry to competition from the Japanese development of cultured pearls. Although oil was first pumped from Kuwaiti lands in 1938, politics and war conditions led to delay of its export until 1946. In the early days of crude oil production, the bulk of revenues went to the foreign oil companies and to expansion of the industry. But, by mid-century, even with only a small percentage of the gross oil revenues, Kuwait began to become rich. As world demand for energy soared, profits to the oil producers followed. OPEC was formed and Kuwait's coffers burgeoned; per capita income by 1980 had risen to about U.S. \$20,000, among the highest in the world.<sup>5</sup> The Al-Şabāh family led in establishing a modern state, invested the oil wealth in education and infrastructure and devised ways to share profits among the citizenry. Established trading families started new businesses which seemingly could not fail. Workers were brought in from around the world. Lives as well as places were irrevocably

changed. People now in middle age tell of childhood and adolescence in circumstances far different from that which is possible today. There was no choice; wealth swept away the familiar as rain melts mud-brick walls.

### Townfolk and Bedouin

The citizenry of Kuwait, as in the neighboring states in the Gulf, is almost 100 percent Muslim.<sup>6</sup> The binding force of all Muslims is the Qur'ān, the revelation from God to Muhammad. Next in authority are the words and deeds of the Prophet, followed by the words and deeds of early Muslims, including both men and women. In the days before political boundaries were drawn in Arabia, consanguinal clusters moved with little interference between traditional grazing lands.<sup>7</sup> In the summer when water and pasturage in the desert was depleted, certain of these pastoral groups would draw together near the settlements of Kuwait. Differences between nomad and villager were known, differences among tribes maintained, rights and obligations were variously acknowledged and denied; similarities were not expected nor particularly of interest. Desert raids and skirmishes were related to honor, sometimes to gain; but not until the surge of puritanism of the Wahhabi desert warrior tribesmen, seeking reform of their Muslim brethren, did ideology become a point of conflict.<sup>8</sup>

Although originating differently in other parts of the Middle East, the social effects of competing interpretations of Islamic authority in Arabia are directly linked to inter-tribal



rivalries and territorial ambition intensified by religious traditions.<sup>9</sup> Seeking to return Arabia to a pure, classical Islam, in the 20th century the Wahhābīs became an essential force in aid of the Āl-Saūd ambition and eventually realized the political subordination of most of the Arabian peninsula into a polity known as Saudi Arabia.<sup>10</sup> Kuwaitis still celebrate their successful resistance to takeover by the Āl-Saūd and Wahhābīs in the signal 1921 victory against Saudi forces at Jahra, an oasis 20 miles northwest of Kuwait City. Though surely fundamentalist in those early days, the Kuwaitis resisted the extreme revisionism championed by the Wahhābīs. Indeed, neither the Wahhābīs, Christian medical missionaries nor British political advisors, present from as early as 1912, threatened Kuwaiti religious stability; nor did the residence of Shiite Muslims whose roots were in Arabistan of southern Iraq and Persia. It was not until rising incomes, increased consumption, foreign travel, expanded communication and universal education entered extensively into the society that differences in religious interpretation had the potential of destabilizing the State of Kuwait. Political changes in the region, with an accompanying rise in violence have made sectarian differences more significant.<sup>11</sup>

Behavior and ideas which had evolved and were absorbed and rationalized over decades in other Middle Eastern and Muslim countries, seemed formidable when suddenly they descended on Kuwait. Travel links with Pakistan, India, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon became channels of innovation.

From these countries workers, teachers, administrators and advisors, mostly Muslim, came into Kuwait<sup>12</sup>; Kuwaiti students, vacationers, businessmen and their families left for short or extended periods abroad.

### Change Reflected in Reports and Interpretations

In Kuwait as in the larger world, among the many strains of sudden growth, wealth and engulfing innovation, was the increased attention to changes in economic, political and social realities and their reflection in both popular and scholarly literature.<sup>13</sup> Concurrent social and political events in the Middle East have compounded the difficulties of reconciling very different interpretations of more local considerations. Thus it is that a diverse array of portrayals have been drawn of Kuwait against a background of rapid social and political change in the Middle East.

Reports and studies of change in Kuwait have, for the most part, concentrated on political, social and economic considerations. Although women are not well accounted for in these studies, recent scholarship has reviewed the evidence, with interest not only in the effects of change on women but in the effectiveness of women regarding change.<sup>14</sup> In Kuwait, following the normative Muslim dichotomy described as public and private spheres, women might seem to have no place in the public areas where male family members dominate.<sup>15</sup> The facts are otherwise. Although females do not have the vote, they occupy many positions of power and authority in Kuwait, including five of the deanships

in the University, one position of vice-rector of the University, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Social Affairs, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Education, as well as places in Kuwait's formidable commercial complex.<sup>16</sup> Female enrollment in the University is now more than 50% of the total, and top rankings in scholastic achievement in both secondary schools and the university are consistently awarded to females.<sup>17</sup>

Female political activism in the 1970s and again in the 1980s challenged the traditional power structure. Although their quest for representation and the vote was not successful either time, these early leaders were effective. A probable result of their activities is seen in the student union of the university which includes female students among its voting members and representatives; it is recognized that victory in elections depends on capturing the female vote. The reality of effective females everywhere in society, juxtaposed with another reality, a Kuwaiti woman veiled and swathed in a black cloak, ('abā'ah, 'abayah) seems incongruous.

Many situations in Kuwait reflect intensive change. Within a society stressed by sudden wealth, urbanization, influx of foreign workers and ideas, and with a reduction of illiteracy from 54.5% in 1957 to 28.9% in a little over two decades, together with an increase in the percentage of female enrollment in secondary schools from virtually nil to 48% in the same period<sup>18</sup>, disparities are common. Women have not been shielded from participation in Kuwait's adjustment to change and accommodation of diversity.

### The Problem

Among Westerners and those indigenous to the Middle East, interest in the subject of women in Middle Eastern society has led to a sizeable body of literature. Government officials, travellers, scholars, journalists and responsible citizens have brought their different social realities and theoretical perspectives to questions perennially raised about women. Written observations about Kuwaiti women, though varied, tend to focus on their rights and obligations. These observations in some cases differ from one another and in other cases are consistent. The fortunes of Kuwait, social change and diffusion of cultural capital are reflected in variations seen in the statistical and documentary reports about modern Kuwait. When these variations occur among descriptive materials produced within a relatively short time frame and when there are consistencies where differences might be expected, then questions about both variation and constants legitimately arise. One queries the sources of these contradictions: do they arise out of different individual perspectives brought to the field of research? Can they be understood to result from different disciplinary approaches? Are they a result of linguistic differences among the reporters? These and other questions cannot be addressed until the literature is available for study, until its frequency and form is known, until the context of its production is ascertained. These preliminary steps are the work of this study which takes as its problem the question:



WHAT ARE THE SIGNIFICANT SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN  
THE WRITTEN PRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE POSITION OF KUWAITI  
WOMEN AND WHAT MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE CONSTANTS AND VARIATIONS  
AMONG THESE PRESENTATIONS?

Although scholars point pridefully to the past and Ibn Khaldūn's survey of Muslim society,<sup>19</sup> modern sociology has brought a different analytical science to the Middle East. Acquaintance with the Middle East has come to the rest of the world mainly through oriental studies, dealing with documents of the past; anthropology, mainly represented by ethnographies; and, more recently, current affairs and area studies. With none of these does sociology have a home, but among them sociology, as well as economics and political science, has a place. Interdisciplinary approaches have been encouraged, as practitioners in sociology, economics and political science have volunteered information to fill gaps in existing knowledge.<sup>20</sup>

In order to provide a background to the less extensive materials regarding Kuwaiti women, the literature review begins with materials about Middle Eastern Muslim women after which the materials concerned only with Kuwait are reviewed. Additional materials are reviewed in the next chapter which explains certain theoretical considerations informing the study. These materials are concerned with research in the Middle East, research about women and writings which describe the sociology of knowledge.

The methodological approach in this study of literature about Kuwaiti women is content analysis, which involves collecting and sorting out the materials, identifying variables, categorizing and analyzing the data thus obtained, and presenting both data and analysis. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the findings and suggestions for further research. There are several appendices, including a bibliography of the literature which is the focus of the inquiry.

## CHAPTER 2

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review first concerns works about the Middle East, then about Muslim women in the Middle East and briefly describes those research fields. A cursory review covers materials which focus directly on Kuwaiti women, then key concepts from the literature about women are identified and themes occurring in the literature are selected for their efficacy in addressing the research problem. A discussion about status and role, the concepts employed as dependent variables, and about the study from which the form of categorization were taken conclude the chapter.

The Middle East

Besides travel pieces, the main written work on the Middle East in the 20th century has appeared from the hands of the "Orientalists" and current affairs specialists.<sup>1</sup> The Orientalists were Western academics interpreting the East in a tradition dating back to the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt. Some were the colorful extroverts who went to the East in the wake of 19th century colonial campaigns. Others were quiet scholars, travelling little and pursuing their work in libraries. Work of the European Orientalists was based on scrupulous attention to texts and philology; they produced classics of philosophy, geography and history. The 19th and 20th century Orientalist scholars have informed not only the West; they have in many cases preserved

history to which Middle Eastern scholars appreciatively refer. For example, Ibn Khaldūn, the 14th century writer, well-known in his own time and often credited as "the first sociologist", was eventually neglected by scholars in the Middle East, to be given new emphasis by the Orientalists.<sup>2</sup>

Classic Orientalist figures like Edward Lane, Sir Richard Burton and Gertrude Bell, noted for their exotic revelations,<sup>3</sup> were succeeded by generations which developed their own interests and research skills in keeping with 20th century imperatives. Especially remarkable was the generation formed in the 1930s and 1940s, among others von Grunebaum, Schacht, Gibb and Rosenthal.<sup>4</sup> In the context of a world of closer economic, political and social relationships, their interests formed the nucleus of the post-war phenomenon of area studies of the Middle East.

Problems of research across cultures are especially visible in the Middle East where, as justification for colonial expansion through conquest and domination, the Orientalist ideology came to prominence. Edward Said formulated the criticism and dilemma of Western studies of the East. He and others<sup>5</sup> explain that most Western scholars of the non-West employ a radically simplified type of thinking which establishes a dichotomy between the West, the known, and the non-West, the unknown, the mysterious, the threatening. They point out that Western ethnocentrism becomes evident as "modernization" is equated with "westernization".

Yet, Orientalist research laid valuable foundations for continuing study of the Middle East, preserved and brought to light



documents on which further scholarship depends and continues to attract brilliant and dedicated scholars. Modifications of assumptions and terminology have not changed the value of this work but have brought it to new challenges and opportunities. The designation Oriental Studies seems tainted and old-fashioned now. These departments are now labeled more specifically as "Near Eastern", "Middle Eastern" and "Far Eastern", or in a less centristic way, "Asian" Studies.

A parallel path of study of the Middle East has been that of current affairs specialists. Travellers, writers and publicists from Freya Stark to Lowell Thomas drew attention to the locales and figures of the post World War I era.<sup>6</sup> When the romantically evocative Ottoman state collapsed and gave way to new political reality, academic posts justified by biblical and philological interest were broadened by current affairs specialists, while studies of emerging nation-states and their leaders, like Abdul Nasser and Ibn Saud, lent critical support for the legitimation of area studies programs. Interdisciplinary programs have been a transitional path for many institutions, broadening their horizons, and international studies attract those with interest in the political and economic fields, but there are areas of scholarship not presently covered and the need for such attention is recognized.

Van Nieuwenhuijze suggests that the two scholarly fields of Oriental Studies and area studies are not entirely complementary and that a blank spot remains between them.<sup>7</sup> He suggests that

social scientists are moving into this void and that appropriately among them are sociologists. His projections of the future of sociology in the Middle East are optimistic and his cautions well-considered. Central to the thesis of his study of sociology of the Middle East is the conviction that "theory, for all its proclaimed generality, is inevitably située et datée." <sup>8</sup> He anticipates that, as more sophisticated theory construction occurs in the field, the discipline will be better able to deal with socio-cultural specificity. Until then, all attempts at description, explanation and understanding are valuable input for the emerging field of study.

### Muslim Women in the Middle East

Throughout the current century published materials in Arabic about women in the Middle East have included papers, books, journal articles and theses, but bibliographies are rare. <sup>9</sup> Initially spurred by women's rights activists at the beginning of the century, Arabic literature concerning women became much more extensive in the 1970s, particularly in Cairo and Beirut. More recently, the International Decade for Women (1975 to 1985) and conferences on women in the Middle East have encouraged indigenous scholars to investigate the situation of women. <sup>10</sup>

In contrast to the case of materials published in Arabic, bibliographies of works in English about women in the Middle East are commonly available. <sup>11</sup> Such bibliographic studies reveal an abundant but scattered literature on this subject. These

materials, like the Arabic, include reports written for government agencies, conference papers and master and doctoral theses. In both languages there are several books which are collections of materials from a number of authors.

Literature in Arabic. In the 1960s a frequent theme in Arabic literature regarding women was a comparison between civil codes relative to women and Islamic religious law based on the Qur'ān and sayings of the Prophet. Written entirely by men, these selections defend and rationalize certain laws and urge that they be determined strictly by religious interpretation. Books by M. El Sibā'ī and 'Abdulla 'Umar<sup>12</sup> are examples of this genre. Also produced in the 1960s, and looking particularly at the social effectiveness of women in the Middle East, are biographical accounts of women in the Arab region. One example is A.I. Ḥusayn's Important Women in Islamic History; another approach to the same theme is Women in Struggle, by Faiza 'Abd-al-Majīd.<sup>13</sup> Her book is an Arabic precursor to the popular collection in English by Fernea and Bezirgan<sup>14</sup>; both works use the words of the women themselves.

Rising out of earlier polemics and increasing in volume by the 1970s, Arabic literature about the emancipation of women remained contentious.<sup>15</sup> By this same time, literature about education for women increased significantly with discussions about appropriate education for women and its purpose in society.<sup>16</sup> Rising from these considerations, an examination of the unheralded roles of women in civilization has claimed growing participation in



the Arab world. In most cases, Arab researchers want to be independent of the West and are often critical of foreign intervention.<sup>17</sup> Many who have received support and cooperation from abroad appreciatively nevertheless have led this criticism.

Literature in English. Especially since the late 1960s researchers from the Western world have tried to move beyond data collection and description and into theory building with conviction that cross cultural research increases the range of variables and allows testing of hypotheses. These researchers have sought to facilitate understanding and prediction concerning women in their own countries and other parts of the world. Such research required support which in the '60s and early '70s was difficult to obtain in most disciplines, even those disciplines which were initially well-funded for work with developing nations.<sup>18</sup> After Boserup's 1970 analysis of the labor force of Lesser Developed Countries,<sup>19</sup> justification for such research was enhanced. In conjunction with development programs and the International Decade for Women, money became available and the number of foreign researchers grew. More students from Third World countries enrolled in Western institutions, supported by grants and scholarships, and oil-rich states began to send increasing numbers of young people abroad for education. Out of this activity came much of the literature in English about Muslim women in the Middle East.<sup>20</sup>

Most early social science researchers on the subject of Middle Eastern women were men who, not allowed to approach local

women because of strict social custom, interviewed men for their information.<sup>21</sup> Better support to and recognition of the potential advantage of women researchers resulted in more women entering the field. Louise Sweet's 1950s and 1960s anthropological study among Druze women in Lebanon and Syria figured among the early monographs and field studies of women in Middle Eastern countries. Sweet discusses status and informal power of women which is often invisible to outsiders.<sup>22</sup> Many works built on pioneering research became classics.<sup>23</sup>

Probably the most widely-known collection in English about women in the Muslim world is Beck and Keddie's 1978 volume which contains numerous in-depth studies of Middle Eastern women's lives including a section on legal and socioeconomic change; another on some historical perspectives; several case studies on nomads, villagers and town and city dwellers; and concludes with a selection of essays on ideology, religion and ritual.<sup>24</sup> Fernea and Bezirgan's Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak, mentioned above, is a widely read and respected collection. These informal interviews with women in several distinctly different social environments reflect the diversity of customs, values, attitudes and opportunities among Muslim women as the common institutional problems which they share such as veiling, segregation and the case of divorce for males. About the same time is Smith's collected studies on present-day Muslim women. The essays in the Smith volume focus on the realities of women in Islam with regard to politics, social position, roles and status.<sup>25</sup> More currently,

essays or studies are found in a single volume under the auspices of UNESCO, joining those edited by Freda Hussain, Elizabeth Fernea, and Azizah Al-Hibri. These more recent volumes bring the attention of Arab women social scientists to problems similar to those discussed in the earlier literature. The UNESCO volume examines research about Arab women; Fernea brings additional informal interviews and a synthesis of ideas derived from them; the Al-Hibri work concentrates on the effects of Islam on women.<sup>26</sup>

The concepts of status, power, values, roles and attitudes, social position, and their relation to Islam, employed in the studies of Muslim women in the Middle East often appear in the literature about Kuwaiti women. Still, many features about Kuwaiti society are different from those of its neighbors and other Muslim countries. Increasingly, this fact is realized as writers and researchers discover its interesting social, economic and political development. At present, the literature about women in Kuwait remains sparse but is growing, as shall be seen in the following section.

### Kuwaiti Women

Neither in English nor in Arabic is there a bibliography to mark the materials specifically about women in Kuwait. Since Kuwait's independence in 1961, researchers have focused on the growth and potential of the country. Observers are usually amazed by the sophisticated infrastructure and developed systems of banking and business. These obvious achievements, overshadowing



affairs of the "foyer", have enjoyed journalistic, popular and scholarly coverage which is quite accessible. Finding references to Kuwaiti women is more difficult.

The literature upon which this study was based includes about 100 items directly concerning Kuwaiti women. Pre-independence literature of this century, about nine items, includes no work in Arabic. Publications of the 1960s (about 20 items) included a few works in Arabic and the beginnings of scholarly work in English. The 1970s, among both indigenous scholars and foreigners, became a watershed for the 1980s; the two decades include about 70 items. Each item is taken as a unit of analysis. Their description below begins with the English and the earliest materials and then continues to the Arabic.

Literature in English. Over time, writings about Kuwaiti women have come from a diversity of sources. The earliest works of this century about Kuwaiti women (up to Independence in 1961) were written exclusively by non-citizens who had typically come to Kuwait as officials and family members of officials, or as medical missionaries. In this vein, Ina Robertson wrote a descriptive piece about the women of Kuwait of the 1930s.<sup>27</sup> This is the earliest piece of writing devoted exclusively to the subject of Kuwaiti women.

An officer who had been posted in the Gulf as part of the British imperial machinery was Colonel Harold R.P. Dickson, the British political agent in Kuwait before the Second World War and

later trusted consultant to the Emir. Significantly, Violet Dickson accompanied her husband when he was sent to Kuwait in 1929; both Violet and "Dakson," as his name appears in Arabic texts, wrote extensively about Kuwait.<sup>28</sup> Other writers from this era are Calverley<sup>29</sup> and Freeth.<sup>30</sup>

Most scholarly work about women in Kuwait in English during the 1970s came as theses and dissertations, as graduate students in British and American universities were investigating women's education in Kuwait, their labor force participation, and perception of their role. For example, Al-Thāqib completed in 1974 at The Ohio State University a dissertation which inquired about opinions in Kuwait concerning women's education and work outside of the home.<sup>31</sup> At about the same time after his degree at the University of Durham in England, Al-Rumaiḥī concentrated on women's status in the light of changing economic conditions in Kuwait.<sup>32</sup> Among the studies in English not presented as a thesis was that of Kamla Nath, who in 1978 described the place of Kuwaiti women in education and employment.<sup>33</sup> In the following year, Meleis, el-Sanabary and Beeson contributed "Women, Modernization and Education in Kuwait"<sup>34</sup>, while Torki, in 1976, and Hill, in 1978, wrote about trends and differentials in Kuwait affecting women's fertility and age of marriage.<sup>35</sup>

Announcement of the 1975 First Regional Conference on Women in the Arabian Gulf spurred local studies by Arab researchers. Among several papers from the conference published in English by UNESCO was Allaghi and Almana's survey of research literature on



women in the Gulf. They examined local research needs, priorities and obstacles.<sup>36</sup>

Among notable contributions by Kuwaitis in the 1980s is the 1985 dissertation by Mesad Shelash, dealing directly with Kuwaiti perceptions of the role of women.<sup>37</sup> Interesting studies on women have appeared within the context of education<sup>38</sup>, and an article from a medical journal discussed one particular type of stress on women in Kuwait.<sup>39</sup> Kuwaiti publications in English have contained some occasional material about Kuwaiti women, referring to these related issues.<sup>40</sup>

Thus far there are few complete books published in English directly concerned with Kuwaiti woman. There is one by a Kuwaiti intellectual and another by a Canadian academician, both published in the early 1980s<sup>41</sup>. Their publication may indicate that the importance and the fruitfulness of this research area is being recognized.

**Literature in Arabic.** In Arabic the situation with regard to literature about Kuwaiti women is different. The years after Independence, 1962 to about 1974, saw the establishment of women's associations, as well as the founding of Kuwait University which provided intellectual resources and stimulus for research. This period inspired and was chronicled by documents collected by the Family Development Society. The documents were published in Arabic and later translated into English as the March of Kuwaiti Women in 11 Years.<sup>42</sup>

Papers and journal articles make up the rest of the materials about Kuwaiti women written in Arabic. A high standard was set by the influential academic figure, Dr. Muḥammad Al-Rumaiḥī, who has written widely on change in the wake of prosperity in the Gulf, and particularly as it has affected women.<sup>43</sup> Several scholars contributed to the 1975 regional conference on women in the Arabian Gulf which was convened in Kuwait. These papers included 'Abd-al-Bāsiṭ's "On Working Women in Kuwait and the Gulf"<sup>44</sup> and Al-Thāqib's paper on the perception of the Kuwaitis of the status of women in contemporary society, which was related to his dissertation written earlier in English.<sup>45</sup> The Journal of Social Science (JSS) has been published by Kuwait University since 1973 and included, in 1981, 'Abd-al-Khāliq's article about women in management<sup>46</sup>, and in 1983, a contribution by Bāqir Al-Najjār to the study of structural transformation of society.<sup>47</sup> Al-Najjār includes references to several Gulf states in his discussion.

### Key Concepts and Themes

In Arabic literature about Muslim women a majority of the ethical bases for judgment rests in Qur'ānic interpretations. English literature on this subject demonstrates rationalization usually generated in science, appealing to historical precedence and suggesting cause and effect. The polarities thus established are theocentric and anthropocentric with regard to law.

Access to and use of power in society is considered in both Arabic and English materials about Middle Eastern women through

investigation of their place in changing social realities such as the development of state through citizenship and franchise. The function of education for women, consideration of health as it relates to family and population profiles and participation of women in the workforce claim attention particularly among writers of theses and dissertations.

In attempting to assess contemporary and historical patterns in the relation of women to society, most investigators have demonstrated through their practical applications, the belief that an understanding of these elements regarding the relation of women to society are basic and critical to studies of the position of women everywhere. In this study, the categorization of images reflecting the status and role of Kuwaiti women follows that employed by a Scandinavian sociologist, Jan Hjärpe.

#### Hjarpe's Model of Points of View

A conference on "Women in Islam" which grew out of increasing interest in Muslim societies and particular interest in the conditions of Muslim women was held in Copenhagen in 1979, gathering scholars from many disciplines. Several of the papers given at this conference were published as a collection in 1983. The collection's lead article, by Jan Hjärpe, a reader in the History of Religion in the University of Lund who has written many articles in the field of Islamic studies, provides the orientation and model for interpreting the data regarding the dependent variables, status and role. In his article, Hjärpe stresses that



descriptions of fashions and customs, the factual conditions of women, are not sufficient for speaking about women in Islam unless account is taken of the diverse points of view which exist within Islam regarding women's position, rights and obligations. Islam, says Hjärpe, has norm-giving authorities but these authoritative sources are interpreted many ways in Muslim societies. These sources include the Qur'ān, which, as a revelation from God to Muhammad, is the highest authority; the words and deeds of Muhammad as a Prophet of God, collected as "Sunna"; and the words of his first disciples and their later interpretations, called "Hadīth". Among these sources are many which relate to the status of women and define their roles. Hjärpe established the categories traditional, modern, secular and fundamental for his study of attitudes toward the question of women. His model is used in this study of status and role images.<sup>48</sup> These concepts, status and role, are defined and illustrated in the discussion on methodology in which they are introduced as categories for coding the dependent variables.

In examining how Muslims justify the woman's position, rights and obligations, Hjärpe notes that Western criticism of the "Woman in Islam" elicits critical response among Muslims, many of whom claim that "Western society, secularization, Christianity, 'women's lib', capitalism and communism oppress women whereas Islam liberates them."<sup>49</sup> In order to examine this claim, Hjärpe faced the problem of interpretation. He defined the categories as they relate to the commandments and regulations found in the sources

mentioned above and explains what each would mean for women in practical terms. Briefly described here, these concepts will be further defined and illustrated in the later chapter on methodology. It is anticipated that they will extend adequately across the spectrum of the study.

Jan Hjärpe introduces traditionalism, his first category, as a way which interprets strictly the norm-giving religious sources and commandments. These regulations, applied and systematized by theologians and legal experts, are not to be interpreted or further elaborated. He indicates that this means centuries-old details of dress, inheritance, behavior, marriage, divorce, obligations and occupation are to be followed. New applications are forbidden.

The modernist maintains that Islam is always in accordance with common sense; the modernist reaction against traditionalism is based on the objection that traditionalism does not function properly in the present day. The modernists argue that alterations and interpretations in social regulations can be guided by the principles of Islam and the example of the Prophet; therefore, women should have equal privileges with men. Modernists object to traditionalism, saying that it is unworkable today and that reaction to this difficulty leads many to give up Islam and adopt secular attitudes. The modernist view of Islam is that Islam brought ameliorative change to society. The lives of women were improved by changes such as prohibition of female infanticide; the decree that women should under Islamic law, share with their

brothers in inheritance; the limiting of four wives to a man "if he could treat them equally". Modernists point to these changes brought by Islam and enacted by the Prophet in his own life and insist that Islam should continue in the path of improvement; for them, interpretation of the sources in line with common sense continues precedence established by the Prophet and the Qur'an. The secularist and fundamentalist fall either side of the modernist, says Hjärpe. The former maintains that religion is not a social order and the latter derives a synthesis between the traditionalist and modernist positions, accepting the fundamental laws as immutable but creating new approaches in society to live within the laws. Hjärpe indicates that secularists cite the Muslim precept from the Qur'an that "there is no compulsion in religion."<sup>50</sup> In the minds of other Muslims, the secularist viewpoint is associated with the West and is rejected by the majority as irreligious and contrary to Islam. The secularist view in Muslim societies maintains that women are directed by social custom and not by religious precepts.

Hjärpe says that fundamentalism, on the other hand, "understands Islam as a social order revealed to mankind. In the Hjärpe description, unlike traditionalists, fundamentalists depend on interpretation and new applications of traditional commandments in order to legislate for the State. They base the law of the land on religious law, but defend it by rational arguments. The fundamentalist considers women as equal but innately different from men and therefore entitled to separate but equal higher education



and to work which is in an appropriately modest environment.

Figure 2.1 summarizes these perspectives as they have affect on the lives of women with regard to (1) the way decisions are made, (2) the extent of their physical mobility in the public sphere, (3) their education, (4) the possibility for and kind of work, and (5) the critical determinations of their roles and status.

### Summary

It has been seen in this chapter that the literature about Kuwaiti women has similarities to that concerning Middle East as a whole and about Middle Eastern women as a larger subject area. It was seen that Western scholarship of the past century and a half outlined the fields of study in the Middle East. This scholarship contributed many significant analyses, retrieved and preserved valuable historical documents but, in the process, developed attitudes and assumptions about which scholars directly related to the Middle East became increasingly critical.

A review of the literature about Muslim women in the Middle East indicated certain themes found in that literature and pointed out the continuous reference to religious sources in the materials written by many Arabs about any aspect of women's historic or current affairs. The materials written by Westerners about Muslim women showed the development of interest and production from the early, rare monographs to the accomplishments of particular studies

Figure 2.1.

### Different Effects of Muslim Perspectives on the Status and Role of Women

	Decisions	Mobility	Education	Work	Determiners
Modern	religious, family and self	limited interaction; some;	encouraged; guided choice	guided; career welcomed	religious interpretation; activity;
Secular	self and family	conservative limited interaction	guided; choice pragmatic	guided; choice pragmatic	activity; achievement
Fundamental	religious interpre- tation	veiled; chaperoned	religious segregated; limited	resisted but accepted	ascription male kin
Traditional	religious interpre- tation	none	religious; basic, limited	rejected	religious laws



and collections. Though burdened by some of the same Orientalist problems, the literature about women in recent decades has sought to be a forum for the Middle Eastern women's own words to be heard.

The literature about Kuwaiti women was reviewed chronologically and showed that the earliest writings were by Western government officials or their families. Later materials came from international scholarly exchange and interest and the most recent materials, including two books, have come from native born Kuwaitis.

A discussion of the concepts relating the choice of the dependent variables, status and role, to the range of the literature reviewed was followed by the introduction of the selection from which the categories for their analysis were taken. This selection indicated that interpretations of religious sources are the bases for discussions among Muslims about the position of women.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORY

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. Initially, a review of the development of the sociology of knowledge is presented in order to show its current relation to modern sociological thought and practice. Next, a discussion of some ways the sociology of knowledge has been applied will indicate its more recent uses. Finally, the way this perspective informs the particular endeavor of this research will be outlined.

#### The Sociology of Knowledge

Though there are differences in emphasis and method in the sociology of knowledge, specialists affirm a common postulate that ideas are socially determined.<sup>1</sup> Thus, social "reality" is regarded not as a thing-in-itself but as the product of human interaction; and ideas are manifest in cultural forms such as visual art, music, dance, and language. Out of these intentional forms of human expression arise collectively shared meanings which have their intrinsic value in communication. Language predominates in transmitting and receiving shared meanings. While not limited to language, the sociology of knowledge has most often dealt with written communication.

Sociology has been defined as "the study of social aggregates and groups in their institutional organization, of institutions and their organization, and of the causes and

consequences of changes in institutions and social organizations."<sup>2</sup> While sociology's sub-disciplines focus on selected aspects of organization and change in particular areas, the sociology of knowledge, more of an adjunct than a sub-discipline, addresses the relation between thought and society, and functions with regard to the discipline as a whole. The sociology of knowledge is concerned with the full range of all intellectual activity including the law philosophies and ideologies, political doctrines and theological thought. In their theoretical development, its practitioners maintain that a clear definition of knowledge is of primary essence because it strongly affects methods in sociological practice.<sup>3</sup>

What counts as knowledge has been the subject of pedagogic debate since earliest human communications. Over time, different forms of knowledge have been variously valued, but with changes in orientation and philosophy during the Enlightenment period the search to increase knowledge resulted in establishing a "scientific" method of thought. This method promulgated positive procedures to describe the natural, physical world, to test and replicate experiments in it, and to predict change. In the stimulating intellectual environment of the Enlightenment period those whose studies were concerned with social structures and events began to describe their work as a science, as they strove to emulate the success of description and prediction that the physical sciences were enjoying. These social sciences, with their roots in Enlightenment philosophy included economics, politics, psychology, and sociology. These disciplines in the early days of their

development took the physical science (then called "natural science") criteria and methodology as their model.

Early Enlightenment thinkers such as Condorcet (1743-1794), were convinced that "the truths of the moral and political sciences can be as certain as those that make up the system of the physical sciences".<sup>4</sup> Later Saint-Simon (1760-1825), recorded ideas which Comte (1798-1857), subsequently developed in his Cours as the "law of three stages". According to Comte, all branches of human knowledge must pass through the theoretical stages of the theological or fictitious; and the metaphysical or abstract before arriving at the scientific or positive.<sup>5</sup> This and other of his writings indicate his admiration of scientific methodology and his conviction that eventually all human knowledge could reach the rational, scientific, positive stage. Sociology began as a discipline with such optimistic projects.

As sociology developed, the sociology of knowledge grew, kin to a watchdog, criticizing, explaining and encouraging the sibling discipline. In the beginning of the 17th century Bacon (1561-1626), as an initiator of some of the Enlightenment perspectives, had elaborated his view of the sources of error in human thought. He insisted that these errors which he called "idols" must be overcome in order to better establish an uninterrupted relation between social structure and ideas. According to Bacon, these "idols" which clouded the connection were:



impressions of nature, which are imposed upon the mind by the sex, by the age, by the region, by health and sickness, by beauty and deformity, and the like, which are inherent and not extern; and again, those which are caused by extern fortune; as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, constant fortune, variable fortune, rising per saltum, per gradus, and the like.<sup>6</sup>

As the revolution in favor of science developed in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, philosophers struggled to make explicit how knowledge was possible. Accepting knowledge in some form as axiomatic, Max Scheler (1874-1928), and Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), began to elaborate a theoretical system from which the sociology of knowledge has developed. They built upon the earlier work of Durkheim in the French tradition and Marx in the German.

Marx (1818-1883), whose works inspired much of German social and philosophical inquiry, sought in his earlier work to establish a connection between social structures and philosophical ideas. He maintained that the history of ideas demonstrates that ruling ideas in a society have been those of a ruling class, that ideas change as material conditions change. Later, Marx and Engels revised this polemical stance to grant that ideas also could influence change in material conditions.

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), on the other hand, was not working to establish an argument against a system, as was Marx. In his early work Durkheim sought to show that morals, values and religion had their origins in society. With Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) he studied collective representations in the primitive forms

of classification<sup>7</sup> and his last book Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuse,<sup>8</sup> was similarly oriented.

Both the French and the German thrusts to establish the structures and means of knowledge were pursued on the Continent and to a lesser extent in Great Britain. It was in Germany that philosophy's epistemology was differentiated from sociological endeavor. Max Scheler introduced the term Wissenssoziologie, (brought into English as sociology of knowledge). Debate initially centered around the philosophical extension of his formulations. His contemporary, Karl Mannheim, coalesced his own position in the debate into essays with specific sociological focus.<sup>9</sup> As a result, it has been Mannheim's conception of the sociology of knowledge, written initially in English, or translated into the language, which first influenced English-speaking sociologists.

Mannheim was interested in method. In discussing the relation between thought and society he attempted to divest the Marxian interpretation of its polemical elements in order to use the developed theory as a tool of analysis. He was uncomfortable with the concept of truth employed in the natural sciences and tried to establish a theory of interpretations in which he expressed the probability that ideas and "truth" were related to the social and historical situation in which they were located:

Men do not confront the objects of the world from abstract levels of contemplative mind nor as solitary beings...they act with and against one another in diversely organized groups and while doing so they think with and against one another.<sup>10</sup>

Mannheim defined the sociology of knowledge as a theory in which knowledge and ideas are bound to a location in social structure and time. He claimed that his position was not weakened by relativism in which there exists no universal or substantial reality. He advised that though the relation between thought and society is strong, the ultimate criterion of truth lies in direct investigation of the object. He saw the sociology of knowledge as a guide and facilitator leading to more productive sociological investigation.

#### The Sociology of Knowledge in the United States

In the United States, the work of Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), an immigrant German social scientist, was enriched and informed by the writings of G.H. Mead (1863-1931) and William James (1842-1910), among others. His work focused on common sense reality representing an assimilation of the phenomenological, the social psychological and pragmatist approaches to the social determination of meaning. Another line among practitioners who ascribed to the Enlightenment distinction between scientific knowledge and impure or clouded knowledge, followed a more positivist school.

Diligently reviewed and debated in Europe, the sociology of knowledge had little audience in the United States until Robert Merton incorporated the approach into his widely-read Social Theory and Social Structure.<sup>11</sup> He illustrated with his own concepts of "manifest" and "latent" functions some of Mannheim's claims about



the sociology of knowledge and its method of social inquiry. At the time structural-functional theoreticians such as Talcott Parsons took note of this European-based model and conflict theorists appreciated both its dialectic and attention to ideology, but it was the theorists who worked close to or across other disciplines who seemed to have an affinity for such methodology. These theorists include symbolic interactionists, ethno-methodologists, social psychologists or those who blend general sociological theory in analyses which take them across disciplinary and political boundaries.<sup>12</sup>

#### Human Thought and Social Reality

Remmling says that "[in] a general and partial way, we may characterize the sociology of knowledge as a specialized area of modern sociological research which has made it possible for us to discern and describe the differences in human thought among different groups and at different times."<sup>13</sup> Berger and Luckmann build their position regarding the sociology of knowledge upon premises of the Durkheim school. In France, Durkheim and Mauss, addressing the problem of classification, had held that the forms and practices of religious life provided the early categories of thought. It was their hypothesis that categories, for this reason, have social origin.<sup>14</sup> To this basic premise Berger and Luckmann added a modification according to a dialectical perspective based on Marx and they include an emphasis derived from Weber on "the constitution of social reality through subjective meanings."<sup>15</sup> As



explained by Weber, Verstehen (understanding, comprehension) marks off the social activity of understanding as different from the physical science mode, Wissen (knowing or acquaintance).<sup>16</sup> It posits human study of humans as intrinsically different from the study of objects. While both may involve subjective meaning, human study of humans also involves empathy, interpretation, and affect. This difference is apparent when one seeks to describe social reality. Werner Stark, writing about the sociology of knowledge, cautions that "facts" are not "given". He explains that "a fact, in both the common and scientific meaning of the term, is always something already in some way shaped and made concrete by our mental activity. Facts can only stand out from the chaos...when we put some question to reality."<sup>17</sup>

Heisenberg reminds us that distortions in all scientific observations are shaped by intention or interpretation with the result that "...what we observe is not nature itself, but nature exposed to our method of questioning."<sup>18</sup> Both as writer and as reader, one is affected by elements in the nature of language and recollections of experience. The sociology of knowledge has risen out of a search for the origins of knowledge and for certainty.

### Perspective

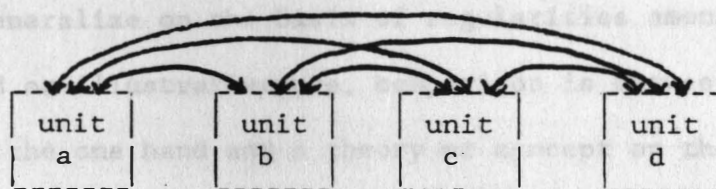
The sociology of knowledge involves the researcher in consideration of social and historical factors which contribute to individual and collective perspectives. A theoretical perspective, like a prism, results in identifiable changes and contrasts among

reported observations of the same subject. Lucien Goldman, writing about the sociology of the novel, maintains that within a culture literary production reflects the existence of a social reality "almost without transposition".<sup>19</sup> According to this view, writers produce images of their subject in circumstances similar to those described in anthropology as the "emic" viewpoint, a product of studying behavior as from "inside the system".<sup>20</sup> By distinction, the "etic" viewpoint described in anthropology reports behavior as seen from outside a particular system, and employs categories of meaning brought by the writer to the study.

Perspective in the novel and in anthropology is somewhat different from but related to Mannheim's discussion of "strata of meaning" which he claims are found in every cultural product. These strata when applied in studies about literature are understood as: (a) its objective meaning, which for literature would usually be taken up in the field of linguistics and deal with the words themselves, (b) its expressive meaning, which would reveal the author's self-defining beliefs and values, and (c) its documentary meaning which is determined by its author's ability to capture the "spirit" of the age or the culture which inspires the literary production.<sup>21</sup>

The sociology of knowledge directs attention to the role of theory in the choice of methodology and additionally highlights the role of theory in shaping the product of inquiry. Bonnell, in a critique of historical sociology, offers a contrast of two approaches in comparative research (Figure 3.1).<sup>22</sup>

"Analytical" Use of Comparison



"Illustrative" Use of Comparison

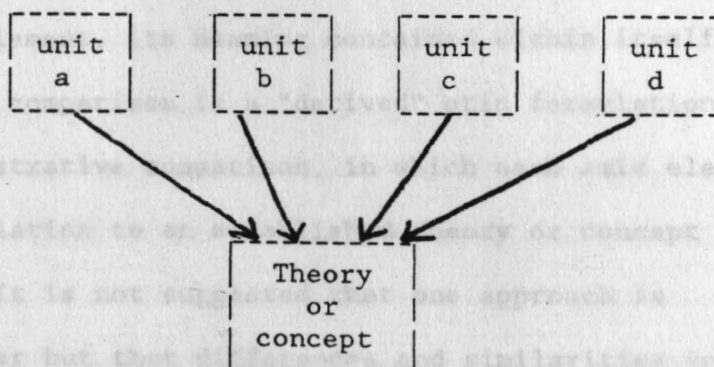


Figure 3.1 Forms of comparison.



In the Bonnell model, analytical comparison is between or among equivalent units. Equivalent elements are compared with each other in order to generalize on the basis of regularities among them. In the second or illustrative use, comparison is between equivalent units on the one hand and a theory or concept on the other. Each of these elements is evaluated in relation to a basic theory brought to the examination. This diagram also serves to illustrate the etic and emic approaches in anthropology. Each unit stands as an emic element, its meaning contained within itself; the product of analytic comparison is a "derived" etic formulation. The product of illustrative comparison, in which each emic element is considered in relation to an established theory or concept is an etic formulation. It is not suggested that one approach is superior to the other but that differences and similarities in an outcome may derive from different approaches and not necessarily from the object under observation.

The problem of meaning is central to the sociology of knowledge. The activities of research in this field as explained by Remmling, Berger, Stark and others focus on the structures of meaning and the essential difference in the social sciences from research activities in the natural sciences.

### Studies in the Sociology of Knowledge

With regard to literature and to the social sciences, the sociology of knowledge functions as a probe into symbolic representations in reports about society in order to allow clearer,

more perfect representations to be developed. The meanings of words and the writers' intentions in their use combine to create a palette from which the lights and shadows of word pictures are brought together. In some cases both the words and intentions are unself-consciously employed and the word picture is seen by its creator as an objective representation. In other cases, words are deliberately chosen to highlight, color or darken the subject. The self-conscious intention of the creator directs these choices and determines the written product. One who comes unaware to a so-called objective representation or to a calculated production cannot necessarily distinguish between the two. In the case of literature, self-conscious choice of words support the intentions of the writer to produce a believable work. In the case of social science, self-conscious choice of words support the intentions of the writer to produce valid work. The sociology of knowledge seeks to identify in social science materials the sources of error which cloud the validity of these materials.

Analyses of the images of women in fiction were collected by Susan Cornillon. They demonstrate the many ways of depicting women as heroine, or invisible, or in more recent representations, as hero. Kristin Herzog examined images of power in mid-nineteenth century American fiction showing how certain authors portrayed characters different from themselves, how whites portrayed non-white groups and men portrayed women. Another book revealed in colonial Spanish American literature the vision men had of women, women's self-images and the place of women in society.<sup>23</sup>



In the social sciences, Sherman and Beck edited essays in the sociology of knowledge which trace the pursuit of knowledge as almost entirely within the male domain, while Evelyn Keller took time from her work as a mathematical biophysicist to explore gender and science. She traced a development of science to see how it was shaped by particular thought and language. Analysis by Daisy Hilse Dwyer of 35 Moroccan folk-tales explored male and female images and related them to institutions in the Muslim community. Another collection, Perceiving Women, examines perceptions among many cultures about women and by women.<sup>24</sup>

Work continues directly in the sociology of knowledge tradition, and is expanded in an increasingly popular approach to historical and ethnographic data, hermeneutics, which traces back to Mannheim and Scheler and similarly involves interpretation of meaning. A recent example of this type of inquiry is "Reconstructing Daily Life in the Past: An Hermeneutical Approach to Ethnographic Data"<sup>25</sup>. The purpose of this study was to use ethnographic accounts as socio-historical data and took Appalachian ethnographies as an application of the methodology. In all these studies are abundant illustrations.

Words do not have universal meanings; it has been shown that meanings are culturally shared constructions. Both cultural and historical factors shape the thought of human beings and the creations derived from their use. Attitudes of the Enlightenment shaped the methods and purposes of those such as Scheler and Mannheim who were engaged in pioneering work in the sociology of

knowledge. One such attitude was that finding objective "truth" was as possible in the social sciences as it appeared to be in the natural sciences.

### The Sociology of Knowledge and the Literature About Kuwaiti Women

The sociology of knowledge functions to reveal aspects of reality which are not immediately apparent but are inherent in a cultural product. The subject matter of the sociology of knowledge is any human creation within the tangible and intangible world. Employing the three strata of meaning developed by Mannheim<sup>26</sup>, questions are formulated which relate to the study.

The objective stratum of meaning is related to the language of the written material. Its style and presentation convey certain meanings and produce certain effects. Are there identifiable ways the objective stratum shapes the images in the writings of this study? If so, in what way does the language of the writings about Kuwaiti women bear upon the image produced?

Allaghi and Almana<sup>27</sup> writing about research on women in the Gulf, suggest that many researchers equate westernization with modernization.<sup>28</sup> They indicate that, with regard to Kuwait, writers such as Freeth and Nath<sup>29</sup> assume that to be more "Western" is the same as to be more "modern". Others demonstrate more sensitivity to subjective culture<sup>30</sup>, and several universally acclaimed books and collections about women in the Middle East have been published by scholars in the West. Fatima Mernissi, Elizabeth Fernea, and Nadia Youssef,<sup>31</sup> among others, demonstrate their

understanding of the problems of cross-cultural research by presenting the views and situations of women from various countries in the Islamic world through the organization of their materials; they present direct quotations, the words of women from the region about which they are writing, they describe situations and leave conclusions open to consideration of the reader.

A second stratum of meaning to be considered includes something other than language in its objective form; the expressive stratum contains indications of elements of both the author's intended and often unself-conscious purposes. Are the writings being considered in this study spurred by events in the situation of women? events in the situation of the writer? If these two converge as common events how did it happen that they came together?

The final stratum of meaning suggested by Mannheim is the documentary. It deals with "meaning in context" and leads to several kinds of questions. How successfully do the writers evoke understanding of Kuwaiti culture in the descriptions of women? Do the pieces reveal the background against which the picture of women is drawn? Is the context Kuwait, or a larger frame of reference?

Problems in the study of women in Muslim societies have been discussed by Keddie, Sayigh, Waines, and others.<sup>32</sup> Keddie mentions the low priority allotted to such study, ideology, lack of theoretical underpinnings, poor statistics (acknowledged but used anyway), and Western researcher reticence to discuss sexual matters.<sup>33</sup> Sayigh discusses Orientalism<sup>34</sup>, mentioning cultural



chauvinism, colonialism, researcher reliance on assumptions, and ideology. Waines criticizes stereotypes and indicates that "the act of cultural observation and understanding is like drawing back a veil in order to grasp the meaning of cues and symbols of other cultures, rather than imposing meaning upon such symbols from behind the seclusion of one's own cultural veil."<sup>35</sup> These and other critics of research about Middle Eastern women give examples to support their criticisms and offer suggestions for amelioration of work in the field.

The sociology of knowledge when employing three strata of meaning leads the investigator to consider the way language as an objective form conveys meaning, to look for purpose or intention of the writer in the materials and to assess the writers' ability to place their material within an identifiable framework. Certain critics of scholarship concerning women of the Middle East decry an unintentional veil which they say interferes with accurate observation.

### Key Theoretical Concepts

The concept of "image" appears to subsume both "description" and "stereotype". Each of the latter two is a form of image, the first usually considered value-neutral and the second value-laden. The term "image" refers to the written representation or likeness of a person, a group or institution. It is not the purpose of this study to examine the materials to decide whether or not an image in the literature is a stereotype or a description nor

to decide whether a so-called description is, in fact, a stereotype. The criteria of categorization and the study's purpose are differently drawn. The purpose of this study is to identify the images in the literature, point out trends, consistencies and variations in the literature and finally, by outlining factors of production, to suggest possible differences in the construction of reality.

Among the Middle Eastern writers about women, it is predominantly women who focus on revealing the role of women in historical, social and political development and it is predominantly men who discuss law, rights and duties of women. Nevertheless, the position of women, most usually defined in relation to the concepts of role and status<sup>36</sup> claims serious attention among all scholars. Status, as used in this study, refers to "the relative rank of a person, role, or group in a social hierarchy". Role is used to denote "sex role: the socially learned patterns of behavior that differentiate women from men in a given society" are the primary variables under consideration in this study. They are defined in the discussion of variables.

### Summary

The sociology of knowledge has been discussed as an orientation which attends to the meanings in cultural forms and to social reality as a product of human interaction. A brief review of the discipline's beginnings, its sources in Enlightenment



thought and its incorporation into social and literary studies in the United States followed. Then the interaction between human thought and reality with regard to research in the natural and social sciences was considered and the importance of perspective was discussed and illustrated by contrasting two forms of comparison, the illustrative and the analytical.

After a review of some of the uses of the sociology of knowledge in analyses of fiction and in the social sciences, its use in this study of the literature about Kuwaiti women was discussed. This discussion centered on strata of meaning, an analytical device developed by Mannheim, and concluded with a review of some of the problems in the study of women in Muslim societies. The chapter concluded with a discussion of conceptual categories and definitions.

### Research Design

Content analysis is useful in many practical applications where symbols and meaning may have multiple interpretations. In many research areas there are noticeable correspondences between symbols and their meaning such as those of Mathematics ( $2x + 3 = 7$ ) and Chemistry ( $H_2SO_4$ ,  $NO_2$ ). In a discipline, these symbols and

## CHAPTER 4

## METHODOLOGY

Investigators in the sociology of knowledge deal with elements in the production of observations. They study observations and are not involved in additional studies of the observed. These investigators expect that different orientations and perspectives have affect upon perceived and reported images of the subject and it is their intention to reveal such incidence.<sup>1</sup> Various procedures enable verifiable studies in the sociology of knowledge; one is the analysis of content employing methods described by Krippendorff.<sup>2</sup> The procedures of content analysis described by Krippendorff have been closely followed in this study of the literature about Kuwaiti women in order that the procedures may easily be replicated and the findings verified. The processes of research undertaken here are indicated below in the research design after which each element of the design is taken in order. Each step of the process is illustrated by a figure and is discussed.

Research Design

Content analysis is useful in many practical applications where symbols and meaning may have various interpretations. In many research areas there are normative correspondences between symbols and their meaning such as those of Mathematics ( $\Sigma$ ;  $\pi r^2$ ) and Chemistry ( $H_2SO_4$ ;  $NO_3$ ). In a discipline, these symbols and

their prescriptive messages are part of a body of usage to which all practitioners in the discipline agree. These correspondences between a symbol and its communicative function, taken together with agreed axioms and methodology, are seen as a paradigm. Such constructs, though enduring, have been shown by Thomas Kuhn<sup>3</sup> and others to give way to new configurations of basic assumptions with one or more paradigms emerging to compete for primacy. In some cases, more than one paradigm persists in a discipline.

[Content analysis is an empirical orientation which takes into account both changing and multiple paradigms in order to facilitate validation of generalization and theoretical constructions. Although the methodology is employed in different forms for many distinct purposes, it is always grounded in empirical investigation of symbolic entities.]

The methodology of content analysis in America had its beginnings in studies of newspapers.<sup>4</sup> As early as 1893, surveys of space allocation revealed the proportion of column inches devoted to particular subject matter. These simple analyses were used to look beyond materials to ascertain possible influences on publisher's choice of subject matter. In subsequent years, more sophisticated analyses with a more pedagogical approach began to include investigation of the content of other communications media. Research about opinions, stereotypes, point of view and trends was undertaken by practitioners in various disciplines and, with the advent of World War II, content analysis was brought into use for propaganda research.



Various summaries of the development of the field of content analysis have been published.<sup>5</sup> The methodology has been greatly enhanced by the use of electronic calculations and research design packages. Its effectiveness is confirmed in its growing use in examining styles of thought and of literature, in analyzing folklore and mythology, and in uncovering trends and directions in social, political, economic and religious development. Its practitioners in sociology have analyzed texts for attitudes towards race, ethnic or sexual differences<sup>6</sup>, investigated stereotypes in children's literature<sup>7</sup>, identified differing orders of perception and valuations<sup>8</sup>, and reexamined ethnographic materials for new data sources<sup>9</sup>. There are many other applications such as distinguishing social indicators, establishing profiles and deriving measurements and uses of symbols.

#### Applications in this Study

The study described here is basically a qualitative, semantical content analysis in which the data, attributions regarding the lives of Kuwaiti women, are derived through critical reading of the texts. Criteria are established for categorizing indicators of status and role. The data are compared with regard to the independent variables among which are date of publication, author's discipline, and sex of the author. The study is essentially descriptive, retaining words and phrases from the texts as illustrations within the categorized data. The format of the research methodology includes a description of the population's



assembly, an explanation of numbering, the sampling method and the coding of the dependent variables. The independent variables are listed and the procedures of analysis are explained and illustrated.

### The Population

The population of this study is composed of published books, articles, reports, theses, dissertations and journal articles which discuss or describe Kuwaiti women. It was assembled through various search processes, while parameters of type, form and languages were established once the search was underway. A 1981 survey of research on women in the Gulf region<sup>10</sup> provided the first titles for the study; these were supplemented by titles obtained in a computer-assisted search in the United States using the descriptors KUWAIT? WOM?N? ?. Further search in England at the British Library and the University of Durham library yielded several more. The search was conducted in English, Arabic, French, and German but the latter two languages were dropped when they yielded only one title, in French. In Kuwait, search in the libraries of Kuwait University and the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research (KISR) resulted in identification of additional titles in English and the majority of those in Arabic. Finally assembled were 85 (Appendix A) titles of published books, articles and scholarly papers including theses and dissertations which wholly or in part contained narrative information about Kuwaiti women. These materials were published between 1920 and 1987.

Some are in English and the remainder in Arabic; those which were translated from Arabic and later published in English have been noted as such in the listing of Arabic sources. For this study the Arabic source titles have been transliterated<sup>11</sup> and translated into English. None of the original English work was found to have been translated into Arabic but it is noted that some have been reworked into Arabic for publication.

This study has several boundaries. The first is a differentiation between "women in Kuwait" and "Kuwaiti women". Since there is a large number of guest workers in Kuwait, there are many women in Kuwait who are not Kuwaiti.<sup>12</sup> Materials with reference only to Kuwaiti women were included in the population with the exception of the earliest literature, written when Kuwait was small and was a collection of villages and nomad camps.

For various political, cultural and technical reasons, bedouin women in Kuwait were found not to be included in the materials of this study. There are at present no studies specifically about bedouin women in Kuwait. There are rich and varied studies about bedouin in parts of North Africa, Egypt and the lands bordering the southeastern Mediterranean<sup>13</sup>, and it is anticipated that such will be forthcoming from the desert tribal areas of the Arabian peninsula. Meanwhile, materials about Kuwaiti women seldom include mention of the bedouin who have been settled in Kuwait.

The exclusion of Master's theses and dissertations about education in Kuwait unless they primarily focused on women was a

necessary specification of the population. Although most of them include references to women and girls, their foci are mostly on the educational system in Kuwait. These materials about education are recognized as a distinct category of the literature and deserve independent attention. Popular magazines and travel literature have been excluded categorically as well.

The search was extensive, but it is expected that some appropriate titles were not included because they escaped the search. As the researcher's Arabic was limited, each of the Arabic texts was submitted to a translator. Many of these translations were cross-checked by a second translator, and all were discussed at first hand during translation. The first translator was English mother-tongue with extensive experience translating from Arabic to English; the second was Arabic mother-tongue also with extensive experience translating English-Arabic and Arabic-English. Each was often employed as translator and editor by faculty in Kuwait University, preparing materials for publication. The 85 assembled titles includes 47 articles, 21 in English and 26 in Arabic. There are 38 books in the population of which 24 are in English and 14 in Arabic. The total number of items in English, is 45 and the total in Arabic is 40. Other factors relative to the population as a whole appear later in the chapter.

### Sampling

Sampling from the population involved a series of steps. First, all items in the population were listed in chronological

order, from earliest to most recent (Appendix A). When a book and an article appeared in the same year, the book was listed before the article (see Figure 4.1). Secondly, a unique five digit code number was assigned to each item in the list. The plan of numbering is illustrated in Figure 4.2 using the sixth through eleventh units. The first digit codes the item according to type ("book", which includes books and dissertations, and "article", which includes journal articles, papers, published report and theses) and language (English vs. Arabic). Thus:

- 1 = article in English
- 2 = article in Arabic
- 3 = book in English
- 4 = book in Arabic

The second and third digits in the code number give the position of the item in the complete listing of the population. Thus, in the example above, 309.58 Calverley, Eleanor T., the 09 indicates that this particular item is in position nine of the entire population.

The fourth and fifth digits (after the decimal point) indicate the year in which the item was published. Thus, the Calverley book (cited above) is seen to have been published in 1958.

Next, with the coding numbers in place, systematic sampling was applied, with every third unit of the population drawn, yielding a sample of 29 items. The point for beginning the sample selection was determined by use of a random number table which



Figure 4.1. Example of chronological listing of population.

Author	Date	Title
Calverley, Eleanor T.	1920	"Beauty from Ashes"
Stark, Freya	1937	"Kuwait"
Robertson, Ina L.	1940	"Arab Women of Al-Kuwait"
Dickson, Harold R.P.	1949	<u>The Arab of the Desert</u>
Dickson, Zahra	1949	"Kuwait was my Home"

...

Figure 4.2. Example of five digit code numbering.

Number	Author	Date	Title
106.50	VanPelt, Mary Cubberly	1950	"The Sheikhdome of Kuwait"
307.56	Dickson, Harold R.P.	1956	<u>Kuwait and Her Neighbors</u>
308.56	Freeth, Zahra	1956	<u>Kuwait Was My Home</u>
309.58	Calverley, Eleanor T.	1958	<u>My Arabian Days and Nights</u>
410.64	Al-Farḥān, Rāshid 'A.	1964	<u>Men and Women in the Social System in Islam</u>
211.69	Ministry of Education	1969	"The Access of Young Girls and Women to Technical and Vocational Education in Kuwait"

...

resulted in selection beginning with the first unit of the population. Thus items 1, 4, 7, 10, ...85 comprise the sample (Figure 4.3). Details of the independent variables of the population are included as Appendix B.

Finally, sample characteristics were compared with population characteristics. The sample compares well regarding type of material with the population as is shown in Figure 4.4. In the sample, both the books and articles in English and in Arabic were within one percentage point of being in the same proportion as were the books and articles in the total population. Systematic sampling of the chronologically ordered population assured distribution across time.

### Variables and Definitions

Role and Status are the dependent variables used in this study of the images of Kuwaiti women. Joyce McCarl Nielsen in Sex in Society offers the following definition of sex role: "The socially learned patterns of behavior (including overt behavior, emotional reactions, cognitive functioning, covert attitudes, physical appearance and demeanor, and general psychological and social adjustments) that differentiate women from men in a given society, also called gender role by some. The term "status" is used in several different ways. In this study it is used to indicate the "relative rank of a person, role, or group in a social hierarchy".<sup>14</sup>

Figure 4.3.

Details of Independent VariablesSample Units

#	Publication	Profession	Education	Sex	Nat
101.20	U.S.A.	physician	M.D./E	F	Am
304.49	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br
307.56	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br
410.64	Kuwait	official	----/A	M	Kt
313.71	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br
416.72	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
319.75	U.K.	----	Mstr/E	F	Kt
223.75	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
225.75	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
328.76	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
331.77	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br
134.79	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
237.79	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Iq
140.80	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
243.81	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Eg
446.82	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
249.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	F	Eg
252.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
255.82	Kuwait	phys/writer	M.D./E	F	Eg
258.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Eg
461.83	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Jo
264.83	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
167.84	U.K.	researcher	Ph.D/E	F	Lb
370.85	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
173.85	Mid East	writer	----/E	F	Le
176.85	U.S.A.	researcher	----/E	F	Am
279.85	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Kt
482.86	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Ar
185.87	U.K.	professor	Mstr/E	M	Br

Am-American; Ar-Arab\*; Br-British; Ca-Canadian; Eg-Egyptian\*; In-Indian; Iq-Iraqi\*; Jo-Jordanian\*; Kt-Kuwaiti\*; Lb-Libyan\*; Le-Lebanese\*; T-Turkish. (\* = Arab)



Figure 4.4. Comparison of Sample With Total Population.

Type of Material	Population		Sample	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
article in English	21	24.7	7	24.1
article in Arabic	26	30.5	9	31.0
book in English	24	28.2	8	27.6
book in Arabic	14	16.4	5	17.3
Total*	85	98.8	29	99.9

\*Percentage does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Role is related to behavior. Where once the term sex role was used to distinguish the socially learned patterns of behavior that differentiate women from men in a society, more modernly, confusion arising from differences in expectations of male and female behaviors is avoided by use of the term gender role in addition to sex role. The latter term is now used by most researchers to distinguish biologically determined female behavior such as pregnancy and lactation from the socially created expectations for female behavior now commonly referred to as gender role. The patterns of role behavior include overt behavior, emotional reactions, cognitive functioning, covert attitudes, physical appearance and demeanor, and general psychological and social adjustments.

Status here refers to the relative ranking in a social hierarchy. Rankings are established in relation to distribution of social rewards, wealth, power, prestige and psychological gratification. Indicators of status are material rewards as shown by income, personal wealth and property; prestige or honor, which indicates the degree of respect and deference one receives from others; power, the ability to influence other people through formal power (authority) or through informal power (influence); and psychological gratification. From images of women found in the literature one can usually infer role through behavior patterns and status through rankings.

This study takes these commonly used concepts and identifies references to them in the literature about Kuwaiti.

women. The manner in which images of Kuwaiti women are drawn is examined for the purpose of categorization. The categories to be employed are "modern", "traditional", "fundamental" and "secular".<sup>15</sup> These categories, described in the literature review of the preceeding chapter, were taken from the study by Jan Hjärpe in an anthology of work about women in the Muslim world. In the present application each text was examined, critical phrases were selected so that the textual presentation of the image of Kuwaiti women could be categorized according to Hjärpe's model. Hjärpe indicated in the introduction to his study of attitudes that "it can be helpful...to examine the points of view which exist and are propagated from within Islam, that is to say, how Muslims justify the woman's position, rights and obligations with direct reference to Islam's norms and authorities."<sup>16</sup>

He introduces "traditionalism" as a way of strictly interpreting the norm-giving religious sources and commandments. As we see in Figure 2.1 decisions about and for women, their mobility, the extent and kind of education or work they might be offered or allowed describe stringent constraint and those social factors which determine their status and role are considered to be solely religious law.

The "modernist", says Hjärpe, maintains an attitude at variance with and in reaction to the "traditionalist". The "modernist" refers to the principles of Islam and the example of the Prophet in his own time; since the effect of the Prophet's application of Islamic principles in his day brought positive

change for women, this principle should be applied in present day circumstances. The effect of the "modernist" attitude on decisions is personal and family-influenced, mobility, education, and work are encouraged or welcomed and social factors which determine women's status and role include both religious interpretations and the individual's activity in society.

Hjärpe defines the "secularist" attitude as rejecting religion as authoritative of social order, defining it as a personal relation to spiritual guidance. In the "secularist" view, decisions, mobility, education, and work are functions of social constraints which rise from usage; in the Muslim world their decisions are generally pragmatic and conservative with regard for the cultural milieu; they are more likely to see women's status and role to be determined by achievement and activity.

The fourth category in the Hjärpe model is the "fundamentalist". The "fundamentalist" attitude depends on Islam as a revelation of social order as does the "traditionalist" but is guided by interpretations and new applications. The "fundamentalist" differs from the "modernist" in incorporating a view of women as fundamentally different from men as complementary and therefore ascribing equality before God, but defined differently for men and for women in the religious commandments in which men are protectors and leaders in the family. Hjärpe says that "fundamentalism" could be called a synthesis between "traditionalism" and "modernism". He cites as an example attitudes towards educational opportunities. The "fundamentalist" cites the



regulations for pardah (veiling, seclusion) and propriety implies that higher education is for men only. The "modernist" declares this wrong and points to men and women's equal access to heaven and applies the rationalization that this implies that all rights for men and women should be considered equal. The "fundamentalist", concludes Hjarpe, arrives at a synthesis: "Men and women should have equal opportunity to higher education, but at separate universities".

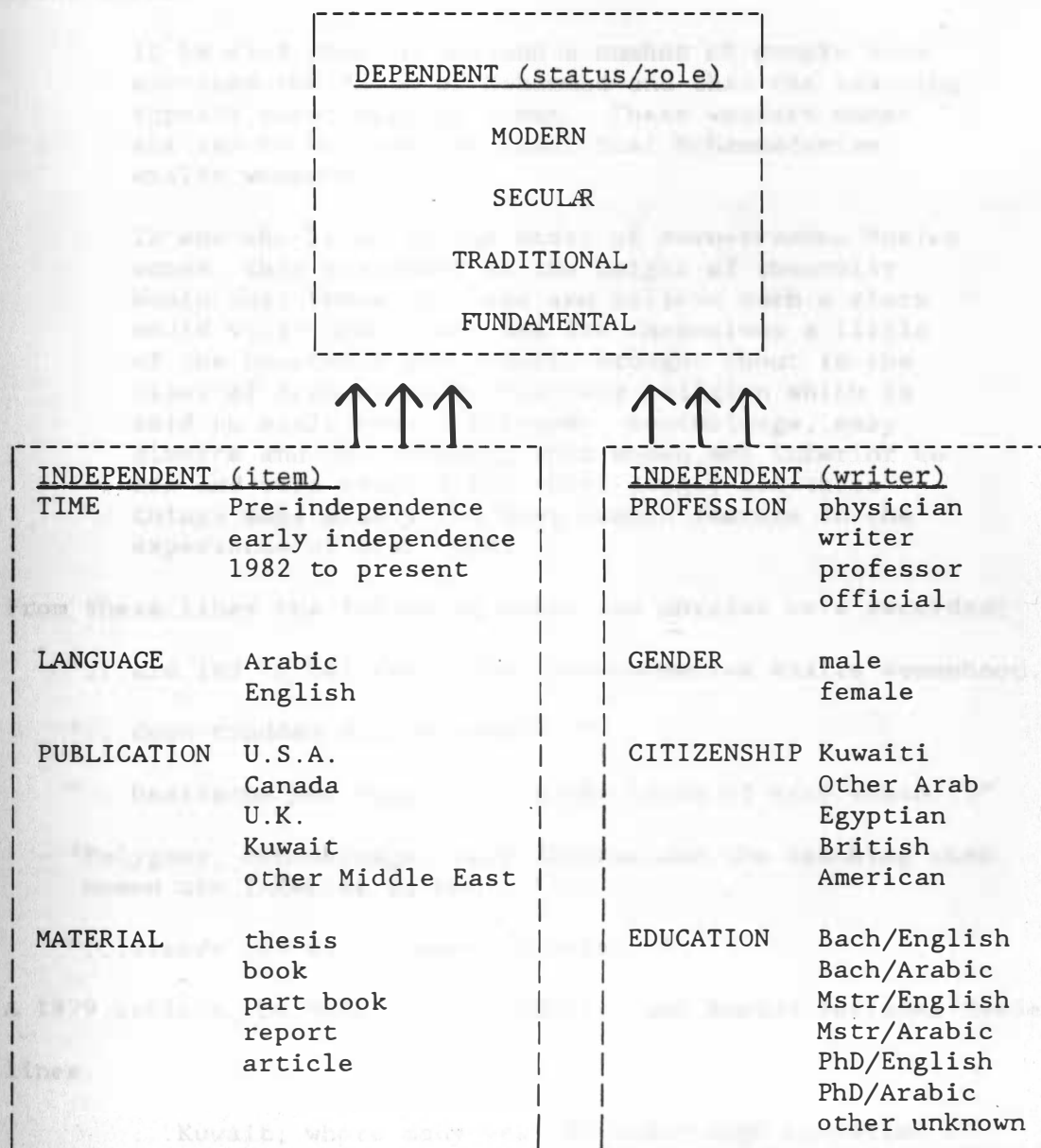
Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2 summarized these orientations in the discussion of these categories. Figure 4.5, "Schema of Variables" shows the assumed relation of the dependent and independent variables. Further expansion of the application is illustrated in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7.

### Recording and Categorization

Once the individual code numbers were assigned to the population and the sample was drawn, the individual sample units were treated according to a process of recording and categorization. For each of the texts in the sample, recording units were identified and were then used in categorizing the dependent variables.

Recording units were defined as words, phrases or sentences in this literature about Kuwait which gave directly or by inference an indication about the reality of women's lives. They were noted individually on "rough data sheets" similar to those illustrated below which included information in a form.

Figure 4.5. Schema of Variables. The schema below graphically presents selected variable elements of the study:



In the 1920 article "Beauty for Ashes" one finds these exact words:

It is said that in England a number of people have embraced the faith of Mohammed and that the teaching appeals especially to women. These western women are led to believe, we read, that Mohammedanism exalts womanhood.

To one who lives in the midst of down-trodden Moslem women, this statement is the height of absurdity. Would that those who hear and believe such a claim could visit Arabia and see for themselves a little of the heartache and despair brought about in the lives of Arab women by the very religion which is said to exalt them. Polygamy, concubinage, easy divorce and the teaching that women are inferior to men and were created for their usage, all these things make misery the most common feature in the experience of Arab women.<sup>17</sup>

From these lines the following words and phrases were recorded:

"...are led to believe...that Mohammedanism exalts womanhood."

"...down-trodden Muslim women..."

"...heartache and despair...in the lives of Arab women..."

"Polygamy, concubinage, easy divorce and the teaching that women are inferior to men..."

"...misery the most common feature..."

A 1979 article, by Meleis, El-Sanabary, and Beeson includes these lines:

...Kuwait, where many wealthy women seek education for refinement and leisurely pursuit of knowledge. Furthermore, the predominance of girls and women in noncareer-oriented fields may be attributed to several additional factors. First, there are society's expectations for women and the roles defined for them. Second, parental pressures, especially paternal ones, on girls and women to stay within traditional female roles, are great. Third, even school counseling limits women's options by directing females toward humanistic study. Fourth, there is a lack of female role models in high government positions, such as the

various commissions or decision-making boards. The fifth influence on women's choice is the mass media, especially the women's section in magazines and newspapers, and women's programs on radio and television., All these project the feminine image and the motherhood role.<sup>18</sup>

Words and phrases recorded from these lines were:

"...women seek education for refinement and a leisurely pursuit of knowledge..."

"...predominance of girls and women in noncareer-oriented fields..."

"...societies expectations for women and the roles defined for them."

"...parental pressures, especially paternal ones...to stay within traditional female roles..."

"...even counseling limits women's options by directing females..."

and so on. These two passages and the phrases which follow them illustrate the kind of recording that followed the reading of each text.

Once the recording units were assembled, the process of categorization followed. For each of the sample units the listed recording units were evaluated according to a coding model set in a 4 X 4 matrix. For the variable, status, the headings of the horizontal include (1) power to influence, (2) prestige, (3) wealth holding, and (4) psychological gratification. The vertical divisions are modern, secular, fundamentalist, and traditionalist. The matrix for role, with the same vertical divisions, included the horizontal headings (1) overt behavior, (2) how norms are established, (3) how mental abilities are evaluated, and (4)



determining factors of social adjustment. The vertical divisions follow those employed by Jan Hjärpe in his study about attitudes toward the question of women in Islam (described in Chapter 2) (Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7). The horizontal headings follow Joyce McCarl Nielson's discussion of perspectives on stratification in Sex in Society. They are based on her definition of sex role and status which were discussed earlier in this chapter.

Context. After each of the 29

sample units was examined, the rough data recorded and then categorized, those which fell into a specific category of the dependent variables were labeled. For example:

Number	Status	Role
101.20	fundamentalist	traditional

The data of some units did not fall neatly into one category; these data were scattered among two or more categories. For these units it was necessary to examine the data in context. Context is the overarching societal schema and is usually indicated by a writer at the beginning of a book or article as an introduction. When it is not, it can often be inferred from the text.

Data Reduction. Tables were employed to summarize the data. This type of organization reveals patterns in the data and gaps among the data sources. These tables appear in the following

Figure 4.6

CODING DEPENDENT VARIABLES: A

## STATUS

Status Definition: The relative ranking of a social hierarchy and in this study, status is in terms of:

	Power to influence	Prestige	Wealth- holding	Psychological gratification
Modern	Education and achieved position	Achievements mostly public	Earnings, personal environment	Realization of goals; own and social
Secular	Achieved, ascribed position	Achievements formal and informal	Subsumed in family	As part of family over individual
Fundamental	Relation to sons; ascribed	Reflected from males; religiosity	Mainly personal jewelry	Religion, family right-living
Traditional	Relation to sons; female networks	Derived from family and male progeny	Right to own property but no display	As mother, informal power; religion

Figure 4.7

CODING DEPENDENT VARIABLES: B**SEX ROLES**

Sex Role Definition: The socially learned patterns of behavior that differentiate women from men in society. In this study, roles are considered with regard to the following aspects:

	Overt Behavior	How Norms are Established	Mental Abilities	Factors of Social Adjustment
Modern	Response to change	Function in line with religion	Optimization of opportunity	Modern and feminist interpretations
Secular	Response to social structure	Civil laws, informed by constraints	Evaluated by tests; ascription	Legal assistance; family
Fundamental	Religious interpretation	Religious leaders and in family	Definitions in holy books and interpretation	Male control of sexuality
Traditional	Reference to elders	Refer: tales and stories	Same-sex identity	Consult women

chapter, along with discussion and analysis. Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9 indicate the rough data sheet form. Selected details of the sample units appear in discussion of the findings.

### Independent Variables and Their Categorization

The independent variables by which each of the dependent variables, status and role, were compared included factors in the production of the literature and characteristics of the writers. Those of production are time, language, type of material and place of publication. Characteristics of the writers are profession, education, sex and nationality. Each of these characteristics was further distinguished and segmented in order to form matrixes for display.

Factors of production were separated according to divisions indicated in Figure 4.10. Characteristics of the writers were distinguished according to divisions indicated in Figure 4.11. Among the factors of production, time was according to historical events in Kuwait. Three periods were established. The first begins with 1920, the year of the first piece in the study and includes materials through 1971; the second begins in 1972 and extends through 1982; the last commences with 1983 and goes through 1987. The first period concludes with 1971 which was 10 years after independence and prior to the 1973 war between Egypt and Israel, the opening of Kuwait University and the establishment of OPEC. The second period extends through 1981 which was a period of rapid growth and development which culminated in the signing of the



Figure 4.8. Categorizing from the rough data sheets.

## 101.20 STATUS

Secular	Modern	Fundamental	Traditional
		393 good works...	391 down trodden...
		394 belongs to God...	391 polygamy...
		396 not allowed to play...	391 concubinage
		396 pilgrimage...	396 punished if not fast...
		397 self-image...	
		399 in death...	

Figure 4.10. Segmentation of Independent Variables by Factorial Analysis.  
 Figure 4.9. Categorizing from the rough data sheets.

# 101.20 ROLE

Secular	Modern	Fundamental	Traditional
		391 religion means...	391 inferior...
		392 exhaustion...	392 ostentation...
		392 no athiests...	392 essential...
		393 affectionate...	392 phrases...
		393 reward...	393 jinns...
		394 belongs...	393 fatalism...
		395 duty...	393 emergencies...
		395 pain...	394 rhythm...
			394 ceremony...
			394 formula...
			395 going apart...
			396 drink...

Figure 4.10. Segmentation of Independent Variable Designations:

## Factors of Production

## SAMPLE UNITS

Factor of Production		Divisions	
time	pre-Independence thru 1971	1972-1981	1982-1987
language	English	Arabic	
place of publication	West	Kuwait	Other Middle East
type of publication	book	article	

Figure 4.11. Segmentation of Independent Variable Designations:

Characteristics of Author.

## SAMPLE UNITS

Profession	Education	Sex	Nationality
official or official's family	unknown or below B.S.	male	European or American
teacher/ researcher/	B.S./B.A.	female	Kuwaiti
professor/ physician	M.S./M.A		other Arab
professional writer	Ph.D./M.D		



Articles of Association of the Gulf Cooperation Council; the economy was sent into a decline by a stock market crash in 1982, taken as the initial year of the third period which for this study extends through 1987.

Language was a simple division of English and Arabic and the place of publication included the United States, Canada and other Western countries under the heading "Western area"; two additional headings for publication were "Kuwait" and "other Arab countries", the latter including Lebanon, Libya and Egypt. (India was included in this division also because there was one item of the population published there by a Muslim writer; it did not appear in the sample, however). Type of publication was placed under two headings. The first, "book" included books and dissertations. The second "article" included journal articles, papers and reports.

Characteristics of the authors fell into the following divisions: Profession included three: (1) official or official's family; (2) teacher, researcher or professor, and (3) professional writer. Education also included four: (1) unknown or below Bachelor's degree, (2) Bachelor's degree, (3) Master's degree and less than Ph.D, and (4) Ph.D. or M.D. These headings also provided for indication of language of study for the highest degree; sex included the headings male and female; and nationality the headings Western, Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti Arab.

### Summary

In this chapter, the utility, history and method of content analysis was introduced as appropriate to research in the sociology of knowledge. Its application for this qualitative, contextual and semantical analysis of the literature about Kuwaiti women was described in terms of its design and the variables coded and categorized within that design.

Several illustrations of the procedures of organizing the material and generating the data accompany the text. These include the assigning of code numbers, the recording of rough data and categorizations of the dependent variables and divisions within each independent variable. The chapter was concluded by a summarization of characteristics of the independent variables. The chapter which follows brings these elements together for analysis.

## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the data and findings, beginning with a discussion of findings which is illustrated by data displays. In the discussion, the dependent variables, status and role, are compared by details of the independent variables. The discussion is illustrated by separate data displays for each of the dependent variables which are compared by each of the independent variables. Next, the findings are analyzed in further narrative which includes illustrative phrases from the literature. Finally, the findings and analyses are summarized.

#### Findings

The findings of this study are presented first with regard to geographical origins, language, time of publication and type of the literature; and second with regard to profession, education, sex and nationality of the author. It was anticipated that such factors would be relevant to similarities and variations in the images of Kuwaiti women. The analysis continues with a discussion of the findings and relates them to the purposes of the study.

An initial review of the findings reveals that certain factors of production and authorship seem to influence the images drawn in the literature about Kuwaiti women. The following narrative points out where the data give evidence of this influence, illustrated by figures, and for each figure a tabular

summary is included. Figure 5.1, "Identification of Sample Population", lists by code number the author of the sample units and specific characteristics of those independent variables.

Figures 5.2a through 5.9b display the results of the data analysis. Each figure shows a comparison of the dependent variables, status and role, by details of the independent variables listed in Figure 5.1.

Geographic Origin of the Literature. Figure 5.2a and Figure 5.2b show that the majority of the literature was published in countries of the West or in Kuwait. Twelve items of the sample units appeared in the West, and fourteen in Kuwait. Three units were published elsewhere in the Middle East. The data suggest that place of publication does have some influence on the presentation of Kuwaiti women's status. Ninety-one percent of the literature published in the West appear in the "fundamental" and "traditional" groupings, while all the materials published in Kuwait and other Middle Eastern countries are in the "secular" or "fundamental" groupings. More than half of those published in Kuwait appear as "secular", while none of those published in the West fall into this category.

Similarly, geographic origin of the publication is seen as influencing the presentation of Kuwaiti women's roles. The twelve units published in the West break down with one in the "modern", six in "fundamental" and five in "traditional". The units published in Kuwait were divided only between "secular" and



Figure 5.1.

Selected Characteristics of Production and Author forSample Units

#	Publication	Profession	Education	Sex	Nat	Author
101.20	U.S.A.	physician	M.D./E	F	Am	Calverley, E.T.
304.49	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br	Dickson, H.R.P.
307.56	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br	Dickson, H.R.P.
410.64	Kuwait	official	----/A	M	Kt	Al-Farḥān, R.
313.71	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br	Dickson, V.
416.72	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt	Al-Saddānī, N.
319.75	U.K.	----	Mstr/E	F	Kt	Al-Marzook, S.M.
223.75	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt	Al-Thāqib, F.
225.75	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt	Al-Rumaiḥī, M.
328.76	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar	Bashīr, R.I.
331.77	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br	Osborne, C.
134.79	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am	Meleis, A.I. et al.
237.79	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Iq	Al-Zaydī, A.Y.
140.80	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am	Shilling, N.A.
243.81	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Eg	'Abd-al-Khāliq, N.
446.82	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt	Al-Saddānī, N.
249.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	F	Eg	Ḥusayn, A.H.
252.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar	Al-Najjār, B.
255.82	Kuwait	phys/writer	M.D./E	F	Eg	Al-Sa'dāwī, N.
258.82	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Eg	'Abd-al-Mu'tī, A.
461.83	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Jo	Zāhir, A.J.
264.83	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar	Al-Najjār, B.
167.84	U.K.	researcher	Ph.D/E	F	Lb	Allaghi and Almana
370.85	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt	Shelash, M.F.G.
173.85	Mid East	writer	----/E	F	Le	Arasoghli, A.
176.85	U.S.A.	researcher	----/E	F	Am	Ramazani, N.
481.86	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Kt	Al-Nafīsī, A.
482.86	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Ar	Al-Jardāwī, A.
185.87	U.K.	professor	Mstr/E	M	Br	Gannon, R.

Am-American; Ar-Arab\*; Br-British; Ca-Canadian; Eg-Egyptian\*;  
 In-Indian; Iq-Iraqi\*; Jo-Jordanian\*; Kt-Kuwaiti\*; Lb-Libyan\*;  
 Le-Lebanese\*; T-Turkish. (\* = Arab)

Figure 5.2a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Geographic Origin of Literature

Category	West	Kuwait	Other Middle East
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>			
Modern	331.77		
Secular		223.75 243.81 249.82 252.82 255.82 258.82 461.83 482.86	264.83 173.85
Fundamental	101.20 319.75 134.79 167.84 370.85 176.85 185.87	410.64 416.72 225.75 328.76 446.82 481.86	237.79
Traditional	304.49 307.56 313.71 140.80		

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Geographic origin	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
West	1 ( 8)	0 ( 0)	7 (58)	4 (33)	12 (100)
Kuwait	0 ( 0)	8 (57)	6 (43)	0 ( 0)	14 (100)
Other Middle East	0 ( 0)	2 (67)	1 (33)	0 ( 0)	3 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	10 (35)	14 (48)	4 (14)	29 (100)

Figure 5.2b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Geographic Origin of Literature

Category	West	Kuwait	Other Middle East
<b><u>ROLE</u></b>			
Modern	331.77		
Secular		223.75 243.81 249.82 252.82 258.82 482.86	264.83 173.85
Fundamental	319.75 134.79 167.84 370.85 176.85 185.87	410.64 416.72 225.75 328.76 446.82 255.82 461.83 481.86	237.79
Traditional	101.20 304.49 307.56 313.71 140.80		

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Geographic origin	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
West	1 ( 8)	0 ( 0)	6 (50)	5 (42)	12 (100)
Kuwait	0 ( 0)	6 (43)	8 (57)	0 ( 0)	14 (100)
Other Middle East	0 ( 0)	2 (67)	1 (33)	0 ( 0)	3 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (18)	29 (100)

"fundamental" with more than half of the Kuwait total in the latter. The units published in the Middle East but outside of Kuwait were divided only between "secular" and "fundamental". Interestingly, all presentations of status and roles as "traditional" appear in the literature from the West.

Language of the Literature. Language also appears to influence images presented. Two languages were employed in the writings considered in this study. Figure 5.3a and Figure 5.3b indicate that sixteen of the sample units were in English and thirteen were in Arabic. Slightly more than half of the literature in English shows an image of Kuwaiti women's status in the "fundamental" category. For the remainder of the sixteen items written in English, four show a "traditional" image, and one a "secular". Only one presents a "modern" image of Kuwaiti women's status. In the case of units published in Arabic, over half present a "secular" image. There are no units presenting a modern image of women's status; six present a "fundamental" image and one a "traditional". In Arabic more than half of the units present women's status as "secular". A "fundamental" image is presented by 40% of the authors' writing in Arabic and the remainder is in the "traditional" category.

The influence of language can also be seen in the image of Kuwait women's role. Where the Arabic literature is about evenly divided and only between "secular" and "fundamental", the English pieces are found in all four categories. The majority is in "fundamental" and "traditional", and only 14% of all the English materials are in the "modern" or "secular" categories. In Arabic a fairly equal division appears between authors presenting a "secular" and those presenting a "fundamental" image. There are no units in the "modern" or "traditional" categories for the role of women according to language.



Figure 5.3a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Language of Literature

Category	English	Arabic
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>		
Modern	331.77	
Secular	173.85	223.75
		243.81
		249.82
		252.82
		258.82
		461.83
		264.83
		482.86
Fundamental	101.20	410.64
	319.75	416.72
	328.76	225.75
	143.79	237.79
	167.84	446.82
	370.85	279.85
	176.85	
	185.87	
Traditional	304.49	255.82
	307.56	
	313.71	
	140.80	

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Language	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
English	1 ( 7)	1 ( 7)	8 (57)	4 (29)	14 (100)
Arabic	0 ( 0)	8 (53)	6 (40)	1 ( 7)	15 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	9 (31)	14 (49)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Figure 5.3b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Language of Literature

Category	English	Arabic
<b><u>ROLE</u></b>		
Modern	331.77	
Secular	173.85	223.75
		243.81
		249.82
		252.82
		258.82
		264.83
		482.86
Fundamental	319.75	410.64
	328.76	416.72
	134.79	225.75
	167.84	237.79
	370.85	446.82
	176.85	255.82
	185.87	461.83
		481.86
Traditional	101.20	
	304.49	
	307.56	
	313.71	
	140.80	

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Language	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
English	1 ( 7)	1 ( 7)	7 (50)	5 (36)	14 (100)
Arabic	0 ( 0)	7 (47)	8 (53)	0 ( 0)	15 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Time of Writing of the Literature. Time is seen as influencing images of Kuwaiti women even more than either geographic origin or language. Figure 5.4a and Figure 5.4b show that in the period before Independence and through 1971 five of the sample units were written. Ten of the units were written from 1972 through 1981 and fourteen from 1982 through 1987. The influence of time on the representation of women's status is seen in the earliest period to have been either "fundamental" or "traditional". The second, later, period showed 60% of its writings about Kuwaiti women's status in the "fundamental" and 20% in the "secular" categories, with slight representation in the "modern" and "traditional". In the latest period, only 36% of the images of Kuwaiti women's status were presented as "fundamental", while more than half of all the literature in that period portrayed women's status as "secular"; none at all is found in the "modern" category and only one (7% of the total) had a "traditional" image.

The influence of time on the images of Kuwaiti women is even greater with regard to role. Before 1972, writers presented women's role in Kuwait as "traditional". Out of all the writings in the earliest period, 80% present images of women's role as "traditional"; the remaining one item presents them as "fundamental". In the following ten-year period, twice as many items were published, but only one (10%) of them presents the woman's role as "traditional". In this period the majority (60%) presented their image as "fundamental"; the remaining images of the period are presented either as "secular" or as "modern". The

latest period indicates other shifts; none of the images of women's role from the writings of this period are presented as "modern" or "traditional". In fact, they are closely divided between "secular" (43%) and "fundamental" (57%).

# EXHIBIT

1917-1920	1921-1924	1925-1928	1929-1932	1933-1936	1937-1940	1941-1944	1945-1948	1949-1952	1953-1956	1957-1960	1961-1964	1965-1968	1969-1972	1973-1976	1977-1980	1981-1984	1985-1988	1989-1992	1993-1996	1997-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	2009-2012	2013-2016	2017-2020	2021-2024	2025-2028	2029-2032	2033-2036	2037-2040	2041-2044	2045-2048	2049-2052	2053-2056	2057-2060	2061-2064	2065-2068	2069-2072	2073-2076	2077-2080	2081-2084	2085-2088	2089-2092	2093-2096	2097-2100
1917-1920	1921-1924	1925-1928	1929-1932	1933-1936	1937-1940	1941-1944	1945-1948	1949-1952	1953-1956	1957-1960	1961-1964	1965-1968	1969-1972	1973-1976	1977-1980	1981-1984	1985-1988	1989-1992	1993-1996	1997-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	2009-2012	2013-2016	2017-2020	2021-2024	2025-2028	2029-2032	2033-2036	2037-2040	2041-2044	2045-2048	2049-2052	2053-2056	2057-2060	2061-2064	2065-2068	2069-2072	2073-2076	2077-2080	2081-2084	2085-2088	2089-2092	2093-2096	2097-2100

# EXHIBIT

1917-1920	1921-1924	1925-1928	1929-1932	1933-1936	1937-1940	1941-1944	1945-1948	1949-1952	1953-1956	1957-1960	1961-1964	1965-1968	1969-1972	1973-1976	1977-1980	1981-1984	1985-1988	1989-1992	1993-1996	1997-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	2009-2012	2013-2016	2017-2020	2021-2024	2025-2028	2029-2032	2033-2036	2037-2040	2041-2044	2045-2048	2049-2052	2053-2056	2057-2060	2061-2064	2065-2068	2069-2072	2073-2076	2077-2080	2081-2084	2085-2088	2089-2092	2093-2096	2097-2100
1917-1920	1921-1924	1925-1928	1929-1932	1933-1936	1937-1940	1941-1944	1945-1948	1949-1952	1953-1956	1957-1960	1961-1964	1965-1968	1969-1972	1973-1976	1977-1980	1981-1984	1985-1988	1989-1992	1993-1996	1997-2000	2001-2004	2005-2008	2009-2012	2013-2016	2017-2020	2021-2024	2025-2028	2029-2032	2033-2036	2037-2040	2041-2044	2045-2048	2049-2052	2053-2056	2057-2060	2061-2064	2065-2068	2069-2072	2073-2076	2077-2080	2081-2084	2085-2088	2089-2092	2093-2096	2097-2100

Figure 5.4a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Time the Literature Was Written

Category	Pre-independence thru 1971	1972-1981	1982-1987
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>			
Modern		331.77	
Secular		223.75	249.82
		243.81	252.82
			258.82
			461.83
			264.83
			370.85
			176.85
			482.86
Fundamental	101.20	416.72	446.82
	410.64	319.75	167.84
		225.75	173.85
		328.76	481.86
		134.79	185.87
		237.79	
Traditional	304.49	140.80	255.82
	307.56		
	313.71		

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Time	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Pre-independence thru 1971	0 ( 0 )	0 ( 0 )	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (100)
1972-1981	1 (10)	2 (20)	6 (60)	1 (10)	10 (100)
1981-1987	0 ( 0 )	8 (57)	5 (36)	1 ( 7 )	14 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3 )	10 (35)	13 (44)	5 (18)	29 (100)



Figure 5.4b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Time the Literature Was Written

Category	Pre-independence thru 1971	1972-1981	1982-1987
<b>ROLE</b>			
Modern		331.77	
Secular		223.75	249.82
		243.81	252.82
			258.82
			264.83
			173.85
			482.86
Fundamental	410.64	416.72	446.82
		319.75	255.82
		225.75	461.83
		328.76	167.84
		134.79	370.85
		237.79	176.85
			481.86
			185.87
Traditional	101.20	140.80	
	304.49		
	307.56		
	313.71		

#### TABULAR SUMMARY

Time	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Pre-independence thru 1971	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	1 (20)	4 (80)	5 (100)
1972-1981	1 (10)	2 (20)	6 (60)	1 (10)	10 (100)
1981-1987	0 ( 0)	6 (43)	8 (57)	0 ( 0)	14 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Type of Literature. Some difference is seen by type of literature. As shown in Figure 5.5a and Figure 5.5b, there is a fairly equal division between articles and books represented by the sample. Between these types of literature there is slight difference in the way women's status is presented. Over half (54%) of the books describe the status of Kuwaiti women by presenting a "fundamental" image. Among the articles, 44% present a "secular" image, and 44% a "fundamental" image.

There was more spread among the categories for both books and articles in the descriptions of women's role. Only one cell of the matrix has no entry. The "fundamental" category dominates among the published books, but articles present more "secular" images of the role of Kuwaiti women. The "traditional" category is occupied by about 17% of the literature in both books and articles.

Figure 5.5a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Type of Literature

Category	Article	Book
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>		
Modern		331.77
Secular	223.75	461.83
	243.81	482.86
	249.82	
	252.82	
	258.82	
	264.83	
	173.85	
Fundamental	101.20	410.64
	225.75	416.72
	134.79	319.75
	237.79	328.76
	167.84	446.82
	176.85	370.85
	185.87	481.86
Traditional	140.80	304.49
	255.82	307.56
		313.71

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Type of literature	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Article	0 ( 0)	7 (44)	7 (44)	2 (12)	16 (100)
Book	1 ( 8)	2 (15)	7 (54)	3 (23)	13 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	9 (31)	14 (49)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Figure 5.5b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Type of Literature

Category	Article	Book
<b><u>ROLE</u></b>		
Modern		331.77
Secular	223.75	482.86
	243.81	
	249.82	
	252.82	
	258.82	
	264.83	
	173.85	
Fundamental	225.75	410.64
	134.79	416.72
	237.79	319.75
	255.82	328.76
	167.84	446.82
	176.85	461.83
		370.85
		481.86
Traditional	101.20	304.49
	140.80	307.56
	185.87	313.71

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Type of literature	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Article	0 ( 0)	7 (44)	6 (37)	3 (19)	16 (100)
Book	1 ( 8)	1 ( 8)	8 (61)	3 (23)	13 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	14 (49)	6 (20)	29 (100)

Profession of the Author. The influence of the author's profession upon written images of Kuwaiti women is indicated in the findings in Figure 5.6a and Figure 5.6b. A note of caution is taken here because the comparisons are heavily weighted toward one category; in addition, there are three empty cells in the matrix, and only two authors fall in the teacher/researcher category and only three in the "official/family of official" category.

In the category "professor/physician" into which almost half of the authors fell, 47% of the images of status were in the "fundamental" category and another 47% in the "secular"; only one author, representing 6% of the total of the category presented a "traditional" image.

Some difference among these authors is seen also in their portrayal of role. As in their portrayal of status, those professional writers who present a "fundamental" image predominate with 49% in that category; the remainder are evenly divided among the other three categories. The two authors who were either teachers or researchers both presented "fundamental" images, and those authors who were officials or family of officials presented "fundamental" or "traditional" images. The majority (59%) of all the authors in the sample were professors or physicians. Their presentations of the role of Kuwaiti women were predominately (15 of the 17 authors) in the "secular" and "fundamental" categories, the remainder were in the "traditional" category.



Figure 5.6a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Profession of the Author\*

Category	Official or family of official	Professional writer	Teacher/ Researcher	Professor/ Physician
<b>STATUS</b>				
Modern		331.77		
Secular		173.85		223.75
				243.82
				249.82
				252.82
				258.82
				461.83
				264.83
				482.86
Fundamental	410.75	416.72	167.84	101.20
		446.82	176.85	225.75
				328.76
				134.79
				237.79
				370.85
				481.86
				185.87
Traditional	304.49	313.71		140.80
	307.56	255.82		

\*One unit, 319.75 author's profession unknown; fundamentalist.

#### TABULAR SUMMARY

Profession of author	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Official/family of official	0 ( 0 )	0 ( 0 )	1 (33)	2 (67)	3 (100)
Professional writer	1 (17)	1 (17)	3 (49)	1 (17)	6 (100)
Teacher/ researcher	0 ( 0 )	0 ( 0 )	2(100)	0 ( 0 )	2 (100)
Professor/ physician	0 ( 0 )	8 (47)	8 (47)	1 ( 6)	17 (100)
Unknown	0 ( 0 )	0 ( 0 )	1(100)	0 ( 0 )	1 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3 )	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (18)	29 (100)

Figure 5.6b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Profession of the Author\*

Category	Official or family of official	Professional writer	Teacher/ Researcher	Professor/ Physician
<b>ROLE</b>				
Modern		331.77		
Secular		173.85		223.75
				243.81
				249.82
				252.82
				258.82
				264.83
				482.86
Fundamental	410.64	416.72	167.84	225.75
		446.82	176.85	328.76
		255.82		134.79
				237.79
				461.83
				370.85
				481.86
				185.87
Traditional	304.79	313.71		101.20
	307.56			140.80

\*One unit, 319.75 author's profession unknown; fundamentalist.

#### TABULAR SUMMARY

Profession of author	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Official or family of official	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	1 (33)	2 (67)	3 (100)
Professional writer	1 (17)	1 (17)	3 (49)	1 (17)	6 (100)
Teacher/ researcher	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)
Professor/ physician	0 ( 0)	7 (41)	8 (47)	2 (12)	17 (100)
Unknown	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	1 (100)	0 ( 0)	1 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Education of the Author. Close to two-thirds of the authors in the sample had completed the Ph.D. or the M.D. degree. Here again, caution must be exercised in interpreting these data because of empty or nearly empty cells in the other categories. Authors with Ph.D. or M.D. portrayed "secular" and "fundamental" images of Kuwaiti women's status in all but two instances; these presented "traditional" images. The two authors in the M.S./M.A. category drew a "fundamental" image; two units were in the B.S./B.A. category, presenting a "traditional" image of Kuwaiti women's status. The remaining 24% of the authors had not finished a bachelor's degree or their education was not known. More than half of these authors presented a "fundamental" image of status; the remaining three authors each presented images in the remaining categories, "modern", "secular", and "traditional" (Figure 5.7a).

The data (Figure 5.7b) suggest that images of Kuwaiti women's role was influenced slightly more by education than were the images of status. Fifty percent of the units written by Ph.D. and M.D. authors described a "fundamental" image of Kuwaiti women's role, 39% a "secular" image, and 12% a "traditional" image. Authors in the sample with Master's degrees, described women's roles as "fundamental". The two units which were written by an author with a Bachelor's degree fell into the "traditional" category. Among those with an unknown educational level, or less than a Bachelor's degree, more than half described Kuwaiti women's role as "fundamental"; the remaining units fell one each into the "modern", the "secular", and the "traditional".

Figure 5.7a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Education of the Author

Category	Unknown and below B.S.	B.S./B.A.	M.S./M.A.	PhD/MD
<b>STATUS</b>				
Modern	331.77			
Secular	173.85			223.75 243.81 249.82 252.82 258.82 461.83 264.83 482.86
Fundamental	410.64 416.72 446.82 176.85		319.75 185.87	101.20 225.75 328.76 134.79 237.79 167.84 370.85 279.85
Traditional	313.71	304.49 307.56		140.80 255.82

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Education of author	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Unknown or below B.S.	1 (14)	1 (14)	4 (58)	1 (14)	7 (100)
B.S./B.A.	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)	2 (100)
M.S./M.A.	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)
Ph.D./M.D.	0 ( 0)	8 (44)	8 (44)	2 (12)	18 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	9 (31)	14 (49)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Figure 5.7b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Education of the Author

Category	Unknown and below B.S.	B.S./B.A.	M.S./M.A.	PhD/MD
<b>ROLE</b>				
Modern	331.77			
Secular	173.85			223.75 243.81 249.82 258.82 482.86 252.82 264.85
Fundamental	410.64 416.72 446.82 176.85		319.75 185.87	225.75 328.76 134.79 237.79 255.82 461.83 167.84 370.85 481.86
Traditional	313.71	304.49 307.56		101.20 140.80

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Education of author	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Unknown or below B.S.	1 (14)	1 (14)	4 (58)	1 (14)	7 (100)
B.S./B.A.	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)	2 (100)
M.S./M.A.	0 ( 0)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)	0 ( 0)	2 (100)
Ph.D./M.D.	0 ( 0)	7 (39)	9 (50)	2 (12)	18 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (27)	15 (51)	5 (18)	29 (100)



Sex of the Author. The data indicate some influence of author's sex on the portrayal of Kuwaiti women's status. Figure 5.8a shows that 88% of the males indicate status of Kuwaiti women as "secular" or "fundamentalist", equally divided between the two. Among female authors, 88% indicate "fundamental" (54%) or "traditional" (23%) status images. Only two of the units written by males showed women's image as "traditional", and only three of the female authors indicated the Kuwaiti woman's status by a "modern" or "secular" image.

The influence of sex of the author on image drawn of Kuwaiti women's role is also seen in the data (Figure 5.8b). The majority of both males and females offer images of Kuwaiti women's role which are "fundamental". Three of the female authors drew "modern" (1 unit) or "secular" (2 units) role images and two of the male authors portray Kuwaiti women's role images as "traditional".

Figure 5.8a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Sex of the Author

Category	Male	Female
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>		
Modern		331.77
Secular	223.75	249.82
	243.81	173.85
	252.82	
	258.82	
	461.83	
	264.83	
	482.86	
Fundamental	410.64	101.20
	225.75	416.72
	328.76	319.75
	237.79	134.79
	370.85	446.82
	481.86	167.84
	185.87	176.85
Traditional	304.49	313.71
	307.56	140.80
		255.82

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Sex of the author	<u>Status</u>				<u>Total</u>
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Male	0 ( 0)	7 (44)	7 (44)	2 (12)	16 (100)
Female	1 ( 8)	2 (15)	7 (54)	3 (23)	13 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	9 (31)	14 (48)	5 (18)	29 (100)

Figure 5.8b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Sex of the Author

Category	Male	Female
<b><u>ROLE</u></b>		
Modern		331.77
Secular	223.75	249.82
	243.81	173.85
	252.82	
	258.82	
	264.83	
	482.86	
Fundamental	410.64	416.72
	225.75	319.75
	328.76	134.79
	237.79	446.82
	461.83	255.82
	370.85	167.84
	481.86	176.85
	185.87	
Traditional	304.49	101.20
	307.56	313.71
		140.80

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Sex of the author	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Male	0 ( 0)	6 (38)	8 (50)	2 (12)	16 (100)
Female	1 ( 8)	2 (15)	7 (54)	3 (23)	13 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (17)	29 (100)

Nationality of the Author. Nationality of the author is seen as influencing images of Kuwaiti women more than either gender or education. Forty-four percent of the Western authors portray the status of women as "traditional" (Figure 5.9a) while none of the Kuwaitis and only 8% of the non-Kuwaiti Arabs do. Eighty-three percent of the Kuwaiti and 44% of the Western authors show the status of Kuwaiti women as "fundamental" while the majority (57%) of the non-Kuwaiti Arabs draw a "secular" image of Kuwaiti women's status. There is no Arab writer, Kuwaiti or non-Kuwaiti, who presents the status of Kuwaiti women in a "modern" image, but one non-Kuwaiti Arab author portrays women's status as "traditional".

The data suggest that nationality also influences the image of role (Figure 5.9b). More than half of the Western writers indicate a "traditional" image of Kuwaiti women's role, and half of the non-Kuwaiti Arabs draw a "fundamental" image of role; 83% of the Kuwaiti writers portrayed Kuwaiti women in a "fundamental" role. When contrasting all Arabs with non-Arabs, more than 50% of those with Arab nationality draw women's role as "fundamental" and more than 50% of those with a Western nationality draw women's role as "traditional". Of the 29 sample units, only one, a Westerner, constructed a "modern" image of women's role in Kuwait.

Figure 5.9a. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Nationality of the Author

Category	Western	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
<b><u>STATUS</u></b>			
Modern	331.77		
Secular		223.75	243.81 249.82 252.82 258.82 461.83 264.83 173.85 482.86
Fundamental	101.20 134.79 176.85 185.87	410.64 416.72 225.75 446.82 370.85	319.75 328.76 237.79 167.84 481.86
Traditional	304.49 307.56 313.77 140.80		255.82

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Nationality of the author	Status				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Western	1 (12)	0 ( 0)	4 (44)	4 (44)	9 (100)
Kuwaiti	0 ( 0)	1 (17)	5 (83)	0 ( 0)	6 (100)
Non-Kuwaiti Arab	0 ( 0)	8 (57)	5 (35)	1 ( 8)	14 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	9 (31)	14 (49)	5 (17)	29 (100)



Figure 5.9b. Comparison of Selected Aspects of Women's Reality  
by  
Nationality of the Author

Category	Western	Kuwaiti	Non-Kuwaiti
<b><u>ROLE</u></b>			
Modern	331.77		
Secular		223.75	243.81 249.82 252.82 258.82 264.83 173.85 482.86
Fundamental	134.79 176.85 185.87	410.64 416.72 225.75 446.82 370.85	319.75 328.76 237.79 255.82 461.83 167.84 481.86
Traditional	101.20 304.49 307.56 313.71 140.80		

**TABULAR SUMMARY**

Nationality of the author	Role				Total
	Modern	Secular	Fundamental	Traditional	
Western	1 (12)	0 ( 0)	3 (33)	5 (56)	9 (100)
Kuwaiti	0 ( 0)	1 (17)	5 (83)	0 ( 0)	6 (100)
Non-Kuwaiti Arab	0 ( 0)	7 (50)	7 (50)	0 ( 0)	14 (100)
TOTAL	1 ( 3)	8 (28)	15 (52)	5 (17)	29 (100)

### Analysis of Findings

The data (summarized in Figure 5.10) suggest that factors of authorship and production do influence the images of Kuwaiti women in the literature. Further description of these data will be enhanced by reference to the literature itself. This description continues with analysis and explanation of the findings.

The findings indicate that the occurrence of difference among the images one finds in representations of Kuwaiti women can be attributed in part to difference among both the authors and the factors of publication. The majority of the materials examined in this study present an image of Kuwaiti women that conforms to the "fundamental" image. The "traditional" representations have come in large part but not exclusively from the earliest writings.

"secular" images of Kuwaiti women form the second largest category; they include few works from the West. Representation of Kuwaiti women by a "modern" image appears in these data as an anomaly. In these groupings similarities can also be noted. For example, 80% of the "traditional" images were described in English; most of the "secular" images were in articles; and in the time period beginning in 1982 no materials were in the "modern" and only one was in the "traditional" category.

These findings and others are further explained by turning to the literature itself. Each of the categories is discussed in turn and illustrated by quotations directly from the literature. The first categories are factors of production, the second are characteristics of the author.

Figure 5.10.

Summary of Dependent Variables: Sample Units

#	Author	Status	Role
101.20	Calverley, E.T.	Fundamental	Traditional
304.49	Dickson, H.R.P.	Traditional	Traditional
307.56	Dickson, H.R.P.	Traditional	Traditional
410.64	Al-Farḥān, R.	Fundamental	Fundamental
313.71	Dickson, V.	Traditional	Traditional
416.72	Al-Saddānī, N.	Fundamental	Fundamental
319.75	Al-Marzook, S.M.	Fundamental	Fundamental
223.75	Al-Thāqib, F.*	Secular	Secular
225.75	Al-Rumaiḥī, M.	Fundamental	Fundamental
328.76	Bashīr, R.	Fundamental	Fundamental
331.77	Osborne, C.	Modern	Modern
134.79	Meleis, A.I. et al.	Fundamental	Fundamental
237.79	Al-Zaydī, A.Y.	Fundamental	Fundamental
140.80	Shilling, N.A.	Traditional	Traditional
243.81	'Abd-al-Khāliq, N.	Secular	Secular
446.82	Al-Saddānī, N.	Fundamental	Fundamental
249.82	Ḥusayn, A.H.	Secular	Secular
252.82	Al-Najjār, B.	Secular	Secular
255.82	Al-Sa'dāwī, N.	Traditional	Fundamental
258.82	'Abd-al-Mu'tī, A.	Secular	Secular
461.83	Ẓāhir, A.J.	Secular	Fundamental
264.83	Al-Najjār, B.	Secular	Secular
167.84	Allaghi, A and A. Almana	Secular	Secular
370.85	Shelash, M.F.G.	Fundamental	Fundamental
173.85	Arasoghli, A.	Secular	Secular
176.85	Ramazani, N.	Fundamental	Fundamental
481.86	Al-Nafīsī, A.**	Fundamental	Fundamental
482.86	Al-Jardāwī, A.	Secular	Secular
185.87	Gannon, R.	Fundamental	Fundamental

\* 223.75 substituted for Al-Ḥamar, 222.75 which was not applicable.

\*\*481.86 substituted for Ḥijāzī, 279.85 which was not available.

**Factors of Production.** Four factors of production related to the literature were selected for the study: geographical origin, language, type and time of publication. Of the four, time seems to have had the most influence on the images of Kuwaiti women; type of literature seems to have had the least influence, although even here some influence is observed.

**Geographical Origin of the Literature.** Shortly before 1930, Colonel Harold R. P. Dickson and his wife Violet established residence in Kuwait in the house where Violet still resides. Already experienced in the Arab world, both were mature individuals when they arrived in Kuwait, Violet in her early thirties and her husband in his forties. They kept extensive diaries from which the richness and depth of their writings were gleaned. Westerners investigating Kuwait routinely turn to the Dicksons' reports of pre-World War II times.

Units 304.49 and 307.56 by Harold Dickson and 313.71 by Violet Dickson include such descriptions of events in early Kuwait as "...if a woman's husband has died, the widow keeps herself shut up..." (304.49:136); "...she will be divorced if she does not provide a son and heir..." (304.49: 112); "...the rights of a badawin father are absolute over his children, the mother having practically none..." (304.49: 117); "...describe families' status in terms of living males..." (307.56: 40); "...four things bring shame...and a daughter, even if she is a Mary..." (307.56: Introduction).

These phrases, recorded by Harold Dickson and incorporated into his reports of Kuwait and the desert, draw a picture in the "traditional" image which places women apart with few rights and considered as a liability. Violet, too, indicated that women were in positions of dependency and were not honored. She noted that a widow was at the mercy of her husband's relatives; in one instance, they took all the household furnishings, the widow's wardrobe and jewels, sending her back to her father's family (313.71: 159).

The fact that the Dicksons knew Kuwait in early days may contribute to their portrayals of the women in the "traditional" image. Typically, Violet quoted an adage, "Three things increase the health of a man: to sleep with a maiden, to ride on a saddle, to sit among green herbs; three things harm the health of a man: to sleep with an old woman, to witness a corpse, and malicious gossip." (313.71: 239)

Nancy Shilling, writing in 1980, also drew a "traditional" image. She was a seasoned observer of the Middle East and Kuwait, and conducted many surveys and case studies. Her fairly pessimistic view was that in the Arab world the situation of women had not changed although leadership had begun to recognize that "women are an essential part of the support facilities that must be available to governments if they wish to deal successfully with...population control, family health and hygiene, including mental health, family fragmentation, disorientation..." (140.80: 136). She indicates that "women represent a political minority in



terms of almost total powerlessness." (140.80: 101) She continues that she has received "ample impressionistic data that Arab women perceive themselves to be a political minority" and that they "rage against themselves rather than society." (140.80: 102)

Among the pieces in this study which were published in the West, the "fundamental" image is found to be a majority. Interestingly, the authors of the pieces examined include the earliest unit of the population and the latest, Calverley's "Beauty for Ashes" (101.20) and Gannon's "Achieving Positive Change Within a Different Cultural Environment" (185.87).

It may be noted that Calverley was a medical missionary, seeking to heal bodies and to convert minds to Christianity. Her focus was on bringing change into the world she observed and described. Gannon's focus almost seventy years later was also on inducing change from the habits and attitudes which he encountered daily to his ideal of a high-status nursing profession.

All of the remaining pieces published in the West are similarly concerned with change. Ramazani describes "the fight for a return to Islamic traditions" (176.85: 271); Allaghi and Almana begin their study by speaking about "women's movements in the Arab world" and modernization (167.85); Shelash wrote his Ph.D. dissertation about "Change in Perception of the Role of Women in Kuwait" (370.85); Meleis, Beeson and El Sanabary wrote about modernization and education (134.79); and Sabriya Al-Marzook wrote on "Social Change in Kuwait with Special Reference to the Status of Women" (319.75).

It appears that a "fundamental" image is generated in materials published in the West, written by individuals concerned with change as it affects Kuwaiti women. An exception is that one of the sample (331.77), published in the West, portrayed Kuwaiti women through a "modern" image. In accounting for this unusual representation, the only one of the entire sample, we may note two of several quotations used by the author to lend authority to the text. A leading businessman said that "women usually come first in examinations and many department heads are women..."(331.77:43); Fāṭima Ḥussain, a popular and successful Kuwaiti journalist said, "As I love my country, I must have the right to vote..." (331.77:43). Osborne's work is that of a journalist.

**Language of the Literature.** Half of the materials written in English convey an image of the Kuwaiti woman that is "fundamental". Nesta Ramazani indicates that "a few years ago Kuwaiti women seemed to be rapidly moving toward modernization..." but now "Religious observance has increased in Kuwait: more and more women on campus and elsewhere wear 'Islamic dress' and some even wear gloves lest their bare hands be exposed to male view." (176.85:27) Allaghi and Almanā write that women "challenge models of modernization and its impact on the traditional social structure" (167.87:17). Sabriya Al-Marzook says that "the wife enjoys a possibility of religious authority and subtle psychological control" in the family (319.75: 29). Gannon discusses the strict limitations of social contact between the

sexes that is allowed (185.87:5) and points out that Kuwaitis "place high value on someone as a person", yet one of the problems of female nursing students he describes is that they must be transported by their male relatives (185.87:7). Bashīr discusses "culture lag" and speaks of a "generational gap in choice of innovations" (328.76:25).

In Arabic, Al-Nafīṣī presents a "fundamental" image and says that modern urban life in Kuwait "has taken away status and role of women." (481.86) Others writing in Arabic like Al-Rumaiḥī speak of women seen as "weak, emotional beings in need of guidance and supervision" (225.75:233) and say that their "ambition is confined", as they are made to work and study separately from men (225.75: 232). Al-Saddānī, a Kuwaiti woman, writes that she looks for a day when "Kuwaiti women will be leaders and not as it is now" (446.82:14).

Among the "traditional" images of Kuwaiti women are some by H.R.P. Dickson who observes that in Kuwait family is traced through the male line only (307.56:343) and remarks on women being divorced after being married a year without producing a male child (307.56: 505). Violet Dickson tells of stoicism in a grieving daughter who faced "the death of mother which God deemed fit to inflict" (304.49:143). Shilling says that "women are chattel of men," and a woman is "a full legal person by law but not in fact" (140.80: 121).

These images are different from those written in Arabic portraying the image as "secular". 'Abd-al-Khāliq says that a

Kuwaiti woman "has what a man has as right of citizenry" (243.82:381) and that they are "participants in the struggle against rats, saving electrical consumption and saving water consumption, in the campaign for cleanliness and against environmental pollution, for giving up smoking and protection of the common wealth of the country" (243.82:382). Bāqir Al-Najjār, also writing in Arabic, says that "enormous and dramatic change in the Gulf...does not strike the fabric of Gulf society only; rather it has struck the Arab social order as a whole" and "has led to a shaking of the balance of forms of production as well as of a lot of our consumer habits" (264.85:155). 'Aliya Ḥassan Ḥusayn points to "educated women's insistence on their position and request for divorce" (242.82:817), of "her refusal of traditional ways". Aḥmad Zāhir describes women's status in modern Kuwait in secular terms because of the rights which secular law has brought to them, listing 20 check points to be considered, yet he indicates that the influence of tradition and the passing of time has made women less free and he sketches an image of her functioning in society where she is undervalued and disregarded. He protests that "society cannot bridge two ways of looking at women" (461.83).

It appears that language influences the way images are drawn, first in the general categories, "secular", "fundamental" and "traditional", and also within a category as seen in the quotations from the "fundamental" category in each language.

Time the Literature was Written. Time does have an influence on the portrayals of women's status and roles. The early writings, by Calverley and the Dicksons, portray conservative women; in that time there were few contacts with changing ideas from technological societies or other cultures for Kuwaiti men in Kuwait, and almost none for Kuwaiti women. Calverley had "never seen an atheist nor an agnostic among the women of Arabia" (101.20:392), and speaks of their fatalism, devotion to prayer, and faith in an afterlife (101.20: 393, 394, 396) and of their isolation and ignorance (101.20:398). The Dicksons wrote more anecdotically telling stories as illustrations of the life they observed. Their stories about Kuwaiti neighbors show the public leadership role of men and the difficult, subservient life of the women, of women killed because of suspicion about their honor and chastity, of daughters imprisoned for imagined misdeeds. Al-Farḥān, a Kuwaiti writing in 1964, however, viewing the situation from within the community, drew "fundamental" images of women as he described proscriptively the conditions which Islam creates for the woman. He remarked that "a wife has to be obedient" (410.64:37), that a husband is like a shepherd whom the wife must obey, humor and honor (410.64:38). He lists women's jobs (such as raising a family) and her responsibilities (such as keeping the rights of her husband intact), her privileges of opinion and expression, and her limitations within the bounds of nature and propriety (410.64:44, 45, 46). The earliest time period included no "modern" or "secular" images offered about Kuwaiti women.



Writing in the 1972-1981 period and speaking about her own experience as a Kuwaiti woman, Sabriya Al-Marzook wrote, "I was given the opportunity to rid myself of some of the 'veils' which prevented me from seeing the intricate mechanism of my own society and culture during my academic education in Egypt in the years 1962 to 1966" (319.75:28). Her "fundamental" images are richly illustrated from her own experience. Yet another Kuwaiti woman, Nūrīya Al-Saddānī, who also left the country to be educated in Egypt but for only one year, saw herself as a leader in a future secular society and spoke of a "rendezvous with destiny" (416.72:18), envisioning "women in highest military positions" (416.72:19). However, she drew dark pictures of status, pointing out that the rights of women were ignored (416.72:36) and that they were "hidden by the veils of time" (416.72:33). In abstraction, Al-Saddānī placed Kuwaiti women's future in a successful frame and their past in a traditional frame; it seemed appropriate to put her work descriptive of women's situation in her time into the "fundamental" category where there is hope of change and sanction for it.

Al-Rumaiḥī and then Al-Zaydī, writing in this second period on the conditions of Arab women in the Gulf, each saw the issue of women as an issue of society (225.75:232). Of Kuwaiti women Al-Zaydī wrote, "They say that she is mother, sister, wife and daughter, and that she is the one who rocks the cradle with her right arm but is able to rock society with her left..." (237.79:197). He records that "...when the authorities in Kuwait thought

to carry out a census, recording names and regularizing birth records, they faced a difficulty: the anger of men in declaring names of their womenfolk and daughters. It has been considered inappropriate in the Arab East to repeat the name of women outside of her family very much, but it is inappropriate rationally and legally to refuse to declare a name under conditions of common good and order" (237.79:198).

Although the majority in the second time period drew "fundamental" images, there were some portrayals of Kuwaiti women's role and status in the remaining categories. Osborne, a journalist, on a tour of the Middle East to research her book The Gulf States and Oman, ignored her own experience as a woman in the Middle East, if only as a visitor. For example, she writes that "the discovery that it was unsafe to take a taxi in Kuwait made my visit difficult" (331.77:39) and was told that, as a reporter, "if you tackle a man's job you have to be one of the boys" (331.77:40). Osborne appears to have interviewed people appointed to meet the Western press and elite women and to have consulted statistics for her information. Her provocative conclusion was that women's status and role in Kuwait can be described as modern. She described high, modern fashion (331.77:41), the successful participation of women in the university (331.77:43) where women usually come out first in exams, women staying at work after marriage (331.77:43), and the "women's lib" movement said to be "catching on" (331.77:186). Contrasting her writing with that of Nancy Shilling (140.80), who drew "traditional" images, and

contrasting both of them with the majority writing at the time, suggests that factors other than "time of writing" influence their way of describing the situation of women in Kuwait.

In the last period, 1982-1987, most Western and Arab writers present a "secular" image of Kuwaiti women. Many of the writers of this period were educated in the West and adopted Western, scientifically oriented formulae for writing and accountability. Thus, indicators which would have placed their writings in the "fundamental" category are not included in their materials describing the situation of women; it is as if they "bracketed" reference to religious law and included in their descriptions only references to secular law. For example, 'Aliya Ḥassan Ḥusayn, in an anthropological study of divorced women says that in Kuwait divorce "legal proceedings have become easy" (249.82:815) and that women now go "out to work in different fields" and have found a "new role in society" (249.82:825). Recognizing that her readers might not understand that, even in the '80s, illiteracy is a problem in Kuwait, this author carefully distinguishes between the educated and illiterate in her study, a procedure often overlooked in writings about Kuwait. Al-Jardāwī, Arasoghli and Zahir also present "secular" images of Kuwaiti women. Al-Jardāwī says that in Kuwait women are now experiencing "lowering status dependence on men" (482.86:48), and Zāhir speaks of women and liberation, quoting some women as saying that they "can't support the idea of a call for liberation as long as males are not liberated" (461.83:62), yet at the same time saying that males have

privileges and women don't, that they are bound to the decision of others (461.83:62). Arasoghli writes that for Kuwaiti women, "education and work are the most essential determining factors in society" (173.85:2) and illustrates the high position of women by the fact that in the local stock market crash of 1982, of the 89 people whose assets were frozen, 26 were women (173.85:2).

In contrast is the picture drawn of the "traditional" status of Kuwaiti women in the third time period (1981-1987) by Nawāl Al-Sa'dāwī, Egyptian physician, former Minister of Health, outspoken critic of the injustice of life for women in patriarchy. She pointed out that "political rights of women are nil" (255.82:133); drawing a more "fundamental" picture of women's role she points out that obstacles to women resulted in producing female university graduates but in spite of their education most women do not work and the Gulf depends on foreign labor (255.82:141).

The authors in the most recent time period are more consistent in citing references, reviewing past literature, consulting statistics and indicating contrasting points of view. It is not surprising that one of them, 'Abd-al-Muṭṭī, writes about women's "false consciousness" and quotes Lukács (258.82:728), and that he concludes by calling for a center of study in the Gulf which will specialize in women's issues (258.82:733). Bāqir Al-Najjār calls for understanding of the structure of "Arab social order" (264.85:158) and speculates that "calls to marginalize the social and economic roles of women" can be explained as after-effect of too much dependence on the West (264.85:158).

**Type of Literature.** The data suggest that type of literature influences, to some extent, the portrayal of Kuwaiti women's role and status. Not surprisingly, articles present these images mostly in the "secular" category and books in the "fundamental". The category of books is weighted by the earlier writers, H.R.P. Dickson, Al-Farḥān, Violet Dickson, and Al-Saddānī, who presented "fundamental" (and some "traditional") images. Among the earliest materials there were fewer articles. Later, with conferences, symposia and seminars, articles began to become more of a vehicle and thence predominate in the later materials. The early books were descriptive and anecdotal, later books more analytical and purposeful.

**The Authors.** The second grouping of analyses characterizing the independent variables are concerned with the author. They are profession, education, sex and nationality. Among these, the influence of nationality of the author is more clear than of the others regarding the images of Kuwaiti women's status and role.

**Profession of the Author.** The factor of time and the reality of Kuwait's stage of development determine to some extent the kinds of people who would have the opportunity to write about Kuwaiti women. Kuwait does not allow foreign tourists; no one enters Kuwait without an approved entry visa to Kuwait, issued abroad, subject to approval in Kuwait before departure from another



country. Paradoxically, representatives of tourist agencies are sponsored by the Kuwait government several times a year to visit Kuwait as an attractive modern metropolis. Industry and education both account for many foreigners taking residence in Kuwait. Among those in education, the ones in the sample which are considered in this research are employed in the University, where the standard qualification is the Ph.D. Those most likely to write about Kuwaiti women, besides the Kuwaitis themselves, are faculty members holding doctorates and graduates pursuing advanced degrees abroad. The data for this variable are thus weak for the purpose of recognizing the influence of profession; seventeen of the twenty-nine authors, more than half, were professors or physicians who came to Kuwait under the same conditions as professors, to staff a Kuwaiti institution. The images drawn by these authors fell between "secular" and "fundamental". All of the "secular" image materials were written in Arabic, and all but one after 1982. Of the "fundamental" image materials, five were written in English and two of the five were written before 1980. These data do not lend themselves to explaining the influence of profession on the images of Kuwaiti women in the literature of this study.

**Education of the Author.** Similarly, education among the authors in the sample was predominately at the Ph.D. or M.D. level. However, some attention to writers with education below the Bachelor's degree, or with an unknown level of education, suggests how education affects the images drawn of Kuwaiti women.

Those with education unknown or below the Bachelor's degree include Violet Dickson (1971), Christine Osborne (1977), Aisha Arasoghli (1985), a group characterized by diversity among their presentation of images of Kuwaiti women's status and role. A second group, Al-Farḥān (1964), Al-Saddānī (1972, 1982), and Ramazani (1985), all presented "fundamental" images. In the first group, Osborne presented a "modern" image in her writing. There is no evidence that she was attempting other than a journalistic enterprise, nor that she had training as a researcher; her work has been discussed previously in this paper. Violet Dickson, from the same group, had no advanced academic experience, but her writing and her daily journal give evidence of powers of observation and critical inquiry. Somewhat of a raconteur, she is noticeably quoted and consulted by later authors as they write on Kuwait, and is counted as an authority on old Kuwait and its society. Aisha Arasoghli is a bright, articulate member of Middle Eastern society; her peers in general lead a modern and often Western lifestyle, and her portrayal of Kuwaiti women in a "secular" image suggests that where education did not carry her, place in society and intelligence did. Her image of Kuwaiti women is drawn from experience and consciousness in elite and cosmopolitan society. The great difference in the background and experience of these three authors is paralleled by the diversity in their presentations.

The second group, those whose education is unknown or below the Bachelor's degree and who present a "fundamental" image are

three individuals. Two are Kuwaiti, Al-Farḥān and Al-Saddānī; Ramazani, who lives in the United States, has a background in Muslim culture of the Gulf region. Al-Farḥān was a member of the Kuwait parliament and among the early leaders of independent Kuwait. Al-Farḥān, though well-travelled, apparently did not receive an advanced degree abroad, sharpening his abilities instead among the community leaders, scholars, and in the time-honored ways of Kuwait. Al-Saddānī is a Kuwaiti woman who recognized the need for organization and direction among Kuwaiti men and women if conditions for them were to improve. Even before completing high school, Al-Saddānī had organized the first women's club in Kuwait.

**Sex of the Author.** The data suggest that men and women do write differently about the situation of women in Kuwait, but that they are not at polarities. The majority of men and women offered "fundamental" images of women's status and role in Kuwait. The remainder of women tended toward the more conservative "traditional" image and the men toward the "secular". It is suggested that other variables have more influence on the images in the literature, but that balance requires the reading from both the male and the female perspective.

**Nationality of the Author.** With one exception, Kuwaiti authors in this sample have presented "fundamental" images of Kuwaiti women. Although an equal number of non-Kuwaiti Arabs also presented "fundamental" images, an even greater number offer "secular" portrayals. The one exception to Kuwaiti "fundamental"

representations is that of Al-Thāqib, a Kuwaiti educator who has drawn a "secular" presentation.

### Summary

The data suggest that some factors of publication do influence the images of Kuwaiti women in the literature considered in this study. Among these factors, the influence of language is more clearly observed. Further, the data indicate that among the characteristics of the author the data regarding sex of the author is inconclusive and do not suggest influence upon the images drawn. The data regarding profession and education suggest certain influence but the possibilities of interpretation are limited because of over-representation in one category. The data regarding nationality most clearly suggest an influence upon the images produced in the literature.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter discusses the findings within the theoretical framework of the study. It describes some of the limitations inherent in the study and concludes with implications and suggestions for further research in the subject area.

Overview

Kuwait has experienced rapid social and economic change over its brief modern history. Exploitation of its oil riches has led to transformation of a simple society of traders and pastoralists into a society now characterized by complex relationships in international political and economic alliances. The influx of foreign workers, products and ideas as well as Kuwaiti involvement in business, education and pleasure outside of the country has brought with it challenges to the traditional structures and values of Kuwaiti society.

This study has provided a description of some of the literature produced during this period of change. It includes the observations of officials, teachers, physicians, writers and others about Kuwaiti women and their representations of these women's life situations. The data derived from this examination of the literature suggest that factors of production do influence the images drawn of Kuwaiti women. Analysis suggests that further examination of certain factors of production might be warranted.



### Major Findings of This Study

Several of the comparisons in the study suggest areas which may be fruitful in further investigation of their influence in literary production. These include: (1) nationality, (2) time of publication, (3) language of the literature, (4) profession of the author, and (5) education of the author. Examination and discussion of the findings in these areas suggest other areas and approaches through which further research could profitably follow.

When considering nationality, the materials and the data indicate Kuwaiti authors are more likely to draw a "fundamental" image of Kuwaiti women than other Arab authors are; likewise, though some non-Kuwaiti Arabs present "secular" images, Westerners do not. Some non-Kuwaiti Arabs and the majority of Westerners portray Kuwaiti women in the "fundamental" image, but it is found that 83% of the Kuwaiti authors in this sample do. One might expect Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti Arabs to be more similar than Kuwaitis and Westerners in their portrayal of Kuwaiti women, especially since two-thirds of the articles published in Kuwait were in the "secular" category. The findings suggest that Kuwaitis writing and publishing in Kuwait see women differently from non-Kuwaiti Arabs writing and publishing alongside them. Further, the findings suggest that Kuwaitis writing in English as well as materials which are published in the West remain consistent in presenting a "fundamental" image.

Investigating more deeply into the backgrounds of these Arab writers may reveal indicators which would explain the lack of

Kuwaiti representation in the "secular" category while their Arab colleagues writing about observations taken in the same place and at the same time have drawn different representations. Among the background factors which might suggest the sources of differences in representations drawn by Arabs of different nationalities, those with potential for explanatory value might be age, place of education and sources of funding. If the author's work was produced as part of degree requirements, if the author's education was sponsored, or if the work was produced incidental to employment, these necessary support and income sources might directly or indirectly constrain the writer's representations.

With reference to time of publication, it is seen that portrayals of Kuwaiti women have changed over time. Those materials published between 1920 and 1971 all fell into the "fundamental" and "traditional" categories; those in the 1972 to 1981 period were mostly in the "fundamental" category. In the latest period, beginning in 1982, the majority of images of Kuwaiti women in the literature of this study were "secular".

These findings suggest that time of publication does influence the form of the image drawn; however, only further investigation would reveal correspondence between the observed realities as they are interpreted according to differences among perspectives of the authors. Other data suggest that factors in addition to time might be considered here. It is noted that there is more diversity among the images in the middle period. These ten years correspond to the time in the history of Kuwait when new

organizational relationships were formed, for example in education (higher education, especially at Kuwait University) and government (the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries, the Gulf Cooperation Council and Arab League institutions). During this period of great change a greater variety of roles and statuses, both the old and some new ones, might especially be observed. With these realities in mind, further research in depth in one time period might yield interesting and useful results.

In the area of language one observes that the items examined in this study were written in English or in Arabic. Westerners wrote only in English but the work of some Arab authors was in English. Most of the pieces by Arabs in English were produced during periods of residence for work or study in England or in the United States. Even so, almost all Arabs writing in English drew "fundamental" images of Kuwaiti women. As an exception, Arasoghli wrote for an English language publication based in Lebanon with regional influence and readership. Her image of Kuwaiti women's role and status was "secular"; all of the other "secular" images were found in Arabic language pieces.

Among all 29 items in the sample, more than half were in the "fundamental" category and were found in all time periods. Thus, from the sample in this study, it appears that Arabs writing in English maintain the "fundamental" view, but that some who write in Arabic derive from their observations a "secular" image to report to their fellow Arabs. Research implications from these findings might lead to further studies with attempt to establish

who the different authors intend as readers of the pieces.

With reference to profession of the author, for the most part the data assembled in this study do not lend themselves to examination of the influence of profession upon the images drawn of Kuwaiti women because most of the sample items fell into the professor/physician category. Observations about the data, nevertheless, may lead to further investigations incorporating a more enabling design. One might try to explain why all of the "secular" images produced by professors and physicians were in Arabic and, correspondingly, why none of those in English offered a "secular" image. Another might further divide the professor/physician category to investigate whether writers holding Ph.D.s in certain disciplines tend to offer images in a particular one of these categories. To do this would require a larger sample and perhaps a purposive sampling method.

Diversity among the images produced by professional writers is noted; among them none writing in English produced a "fundamental" image of either role or status. Might these differences between and among categories be explained by residence of the author? This, too, could be an area for further investigation.

Among the data, education of the author is also to be considered with caution since the majority of the sample items fell into the Ph.D. and M.D. category. Authors with education unknown or below the Bachelor's degree are, with one exception, female; half of these women present a "fundamental" image and the other

half present images scattered among "modern", "secular" and "traditional" categories. One-third of those in the Ph.D./M.D. category are women; half of these women also presented a "fundamental" image; the others drew either "traditional" or "secular" images. It is suggested that the interaction of education and sex might be fruitfully explored in further research.

### Findings in Relation to the Sociology of Knowledge

In placing these findings in the framework of the sociology of knowledge, it is appropriate to review briefly the focus of the orientation. The sociology of knowledge takes the theoretical task of analyzing the relationship between knowledge and existence and its aim as a method of research is to trace the forms of such relationship within the intellectual development of mankind. Those who follow Mannheim in this orientation focus in their methodology upon existential factors in the production of cultural artifacts and accept a social basis for knowledge. The method of content analysis is similarly projected in examining the symbolic nature of communication. It is this theoretical orientation and methodological approach which have guided this descriptive study. As an exercise informed by this theoretical orientation, the research in this study has provided data which highlight those areas in which factors of production and authorship seem to influence the images of status and role portrayed in the literature about Kuwaiti women. Among those factors considered in this

research, language, nationality and time of production are seen as most readily identifiable as influencing the images produced.

These and factors of authorship such as the writer's profession and education are among those findings which suggest the potential value of further studies.

In identifying certain factors of production, the study anticipated that some degree of influence would be observed. Those factors chosen for examination were expected to have shaped the individual perspective of the authors reviewed in the study, and thus to have influenced observations and interpretations of the human world being reported. From the perspective advanced by the sociology of knowledge it is posited that personal experiences such as education and profession and realities such as nationality and age have impact upon individual reporters which is likely to influence their production. Also, the realities of financing one's work in publication or production have the potential to influence one's form of reporting the observed human world. Such elements can directly or indirectly influence perspective and theoretical bases upon which research is organized. These considerations, central to the sociology of knowledge, are supported by Van Nieuwenhuijze's claim, mentioned in Chapter Two, that theory is not as general and overarching as it is proclaimed to be. His examinations of sociology in the Middle East, he maintains, reveal uses of theory which are located specifically both in place and in time. Van Nieuwenhuijze suggests that a critical area in the development of sociology in the Middle East is theory. He believes



that theoretical generalizations with origins in the West are often not adequate to extend over areas of different developmental experience and of such diversity as is found in the Middle East. The data displayed in Chapter Five and the accompanying analyses support this caution about theoretical attenuation, and indicate that, as he suggested and as the theoretical orientation of this study posits, factors such as place and time, among many others, do seem to influence literary production.

Both indigenous and foreign writers about Kuwait will continue to write and interpret what they see and read about Kuwait. The tools of their analyses and interpretations will include theories and methodologies which have been applied with more success in the West than in the Middle East. They will bring to their work the influence of their own experiences and unique lifeworlds. Using these tools, more writers and researchers will provide descriptive studies such as the one undertaken here; such works will allow further identification of areas in which exploration may be fruitful. Eventually, these studies may provide the ground for new theory construction and for development of methodologies which will lead to better understanding and communication among those interested in Kuwait and the Middle East.

### Implications for Future Research

Continued research is needed. As Kuwait moves from a developing state dependent on oil revenues to greater participation in diversified business and commerce, the quality of change,

particularly as it affects men and women's lives, must be monitored. This attention to change requires refinement beyond the limited reach of this study. In addition to the several suggestions incorporated in descriptions of the major findings of the study, the following areas might be considered for priority:

1. This study was descriptive; application of stratification, dependency, feminist or other theory, and testing of theoretical models with regard to the specific methodological problems associated with the Middle East would be extremely useful.
2. The period covered in this study, almost seventy years, was perhaps too long for a descriptive study and analysis of this kind. It might be useful to take one decade and do a thorough investigation of that period with regard to the changing lifeworld of Kuwaiti women.
3. A comparative study of the literature about women in Kuwait and one of the other oil-rich Gulf states would give yet another perspective on the subject considered in this study.
4. Study should be made of the settled bedouin in Kuwait, a population overlooked in studies of nomads of townspeople. Thus far, images of Kuwaiti women have been drawn from urban elite and middle class or by observers of the desert dwellers in the days before Independence.

### Limitations

A number of limitations were part of this research from the beginning and should be pointed out:

1. As a qualitative study, conclusions were drawn inferentially; for this reason, conclusions must be considered tentative.
2. The possibility is recognized that many personal characteristics, such as attitude, are important variables in the productive efforts considered in this study; yet for the independent variables, factors of production and characteristics of the authors were selected only from objective criteria. Such choice necessarily limited the study.
3. A time factor is among the limitations. In terms of definitions, one set of criteria was used to evaluate and categorize materials drawn from seven decades of production. Although context of the literature in the study was considered, there was no attempt to relate each of the materials to the world view of its author. This limitation also arises from selecting the independent variables from available objective characteristics.
4. Methodologically but inevitably, the problem of translation incorporates the possibility of error, though steps were taken to minimize this difficulty.
5. The theoretical foundation of the study focused the study upon the materials and objective factors of production. Additional theoretical delineation, such as dependency theory or symbolic interactionism, brought in to inform the methodology, might

have resulted in a more rigorous analysis.

6. Sampling resulted in some categories of the independent variables being very small, and therefore caution is necessary in interpretation and drawing of conclusions.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

1. Jaquette, Jane S., "Women and Modernization Theory: A Decade of Feminist Criticism" indicates that among the most prominent comparative studies on the status of women are: Janet Zollinger Giele and Audrey Chapman Smock (eds.), Women: Roles and Status in 8 Countries (New York: John Wiley, 1977); Alice Schlegel (ed.), Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View (New York: Columbia University, 1977); Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross (eds.), Women in the World (Santa Barbara, California: Clio Books, 1976); Beverly Lindsay, Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women: The Impact of Race, Sex and Class (New York: Praeger, 1980); Rae Lesser Blumberg, Stratification: Socio-Economic and Sexual Stratification (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1978).
  
2. Amal Rassam, "Introduction: Arab Women: The Status of Research in the Social Sciences and the Status of Women" in Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (London: Frances Pinter and Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 1-13; Shari'ati, Ali, On the Sociology of Islam, translated by Hamid Algar (Berkeley: Mizan, 1979).

3. General information compiled in Clements, Frank A., Kuwait (Oxford: Clio, 1985, ix-xv); Kuwait, State of, Kuwait: Facts and Figures 1986 (Kuwait: Ministry of Information, 1986); Rush, Alan, Āl-Sabāh: History and Genealogy of Kuwait's Ruling Family, 1752-1987 (London: Ithaca Press, 1987), esp. 1-10.
  
4. Kuwait: Facts and Figures 1986, 27-29; in 1985 Kuwaiti citizens numbered 679,601 out of a total population of 1,695,128.
  
5. Kuwait: Facts and Figures 1986, 84.
  
6. On Islam in Kuwait, see Kuwait: Facts and Figures 1986, 147-152.
  
7. Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 28-29, where the author also notes the persistence of kinship ties in the midst of nationalist ideology.
  
8. Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East, 770-771; Sabagh, Georges and Iman Ghazalla, "Arab Sociology Today: A View From Within", Annual Review of Sociology, 12 (1986), 373-399.
  
9. Dickson, Harold R.P., The Arab of the Desert (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949); Ismael, Jacqueline S., Kuwait: Social Change in Historical Perspective (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982), 35-36.



10. See Dickson, H.R.P., Kuwait and Her Neighbours (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), 148-157.
11. Rush, Alan, Āl-Ṣabāh: History and Geneology of Kuwait's Ruling Family, 1752-1957 (London: Ithaca Press, 1987).
12. See statistics in Kuwait: Facts and Figures, 28-30.
13. For general treatments, see Al-Sabah, S.M., Development Planning in an Oil Economy and the Role of the Woman: The Case of Kuwait (London: Eastlords, 1983); Rumaihi, Muhammad, Beyond Oil: Unity and Development in the Gulf (London: Al Saqi Books, 1986).
14. Halpern, Manfred, The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) in this aspect is in contrast to newer approaches such as works by Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad, cited in note 11 above.
15. For a general discussion of the phenomenon of the male sphere and the female sphere, see Nelson, Cynthia, "Public and private politics: women in the Middle Eastern world", in Ibrahim, S. and N. Hopkins (eds.), Arab Society in Transition (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1977), 121-149, and also in American Ethnologist 1:3 (August 1974).

16. See for instance those who attended and made presentations at the Second Regional Conference on Women in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf (Kuwait, 1981), Women and Development in the '80s edited by Y.F. Al-Haddād (Kuwait: Kuwait University, 1982), 2 volumes.

17. Kuwait: Facts and Figures, 172.

18. Kuwait: Facts and Figures, 162, 164.

19. On Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), see The Muqaddimah, translated by Franz Rosenthal (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), "Translator's Introduction", lxxvi-lxxvii; cf. critique of Orientalist presentation of Ibn Khaldūn in Al-Azmeh, Aziz, Ibn Khaldūn in Modern Scholarship: A Study in Orientalism (London: Third World Centre, 1981).

20. Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East, 3-8.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER 2

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1. Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1; Said, Edward, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978). See also Sabagh, Georges and Iman Ghazalla, "Arab Sociology Today: A View From Within", Annual Review of Sociology, Volume 12 (1986) 373-399.
2. On the history of the text, see Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah, translated by F. Rosenthal (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), "Introduction", lxviii.
3. Lane lived in Cairo in the mid-1800s and wrote An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians; Burton (d. 1890) became a Muslim and wrote A Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Mecca as well as a famous and scandalous translation of A Thousand and One Nights; Bell (d. 1926) was an archeologist and writer besides being a dedicated servant of the British Empire in Baghdad.
4. Von Grunebaum spent the '40s, '50s, and '60s developing cross-cultural studies at Chicago and UCLA; Schacht taught at Columbia and studied the Islamic legal system in great depth; Gibb, a British scholar already noted for his work on the Crusades and Ibn

Khaldūn, had a second distinguished career at Harvard; Franz Rosenthal, at Pennsylvania and Yale, published the standard translation of Ibn Khaldūn.

5. Said, Edward, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Rassam, Amal and Ross Chambers, "Comments on Orientalism. Two Reviews", Comparative Study of Society and History 22 (1980), 505-512; Hussain, Asaf, Orientalism, Islam and Islamists (Brattleboro, Vermont; Amana, 1984), 1; also see Sayigh, Rosemary, "Roles and Functions of Arab Women: A Critique" (in English), pp. 110-134 in Al-Haddād, Yaḥyā Fā'iz (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmiya fi'l-thamāniyāt, II, (Kuwait: Dār Kāzima, 1982).

6. Stark wrote as a traveller to remote places in Persia and Arabia, and with the fast growing Fascist threat, was in the British information service in Cairo, Aden and Baghdad; Thomas promoted the heroic reputation of T.E. Lawrence.

7. Van Niewenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3.

8. Van Niewenhuijze, C.A.O., Sociology of the Middle East (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3.

9. Note Ramzi, N., Bibliography of Published Arabic Books on Women, 1972-1973 (Cairo: National Center for Sociological and Criminological Research, 1973).

10. United Nations support brought researchers together in Cairo in 1974 ("Role of Women in Integrated Rural Development", Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] of the United Nations); in Beirut in the same year ("Workshop on Family Adjustment to Social Change", United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]); other events have been under university auspices at Al-Azhar in Cairo ("Seminar on the Status of Women in the Islamic Family", 1975); at the University of Basra in Iraq ("Conference on Man and Society in the Gulf", 1979); and at Kuwait University ("First Regional Conference on Women in the Gulf", 1975, and "Conference on Women and Development in the '80s", 1981).

11. See bibliographies by Gulick, John and Margaret E. Gulick, An Annotated Bibliography of Sources Concerned With Women in the Modern Middle East (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Near East Paper 17, 1974); Al-Qazzaz, Ayad, Women in the Middle East and North Africa: An Annotated Bibliography (Austin, Texas: Middle East Monographs 2, 1977; originally as Women in the Arab World, Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Bibliography #2, August 1975); Meghdessian, Samita Rafidi, The Status of the Arab Woman: A Selected Bibliography (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980); Raccagni, Michelle, The

Modern Arab Woman: A Bibliography (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow, 1978). In the area of development, see Buvinic, Ma<sub>a</sub>, Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976) and Rih, May, Development as if Women Mattered: An Annotated Bibliography With a Third World Focus (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1977); Van Dusen, Roxann, "Bibliography: Women in the Near East", in Integrating Women Into National Economies: Programming Considerations With Special Reference to the Near East (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Agency for International Development, Near East Bureau, 1977).

12. Al-Sibā'ī, M., Women Between Islamic Shari'ah and Law (Aleppo, Syria: Maṭābi' Dār al Fikr, 1963); 'Umar, 'Abdullāh, Islamic Precepts and Their Impact on Personal Statutes (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1965).

13. Ḥusayn, 'A.I., Important Women in Islamic History (Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa al-miṣrīya, 1970); 'Abd-al-Majīd, Fā'iza, Women: Their Struggle in Different Fields (Cairo: Wizārat al-thaqāfah, Al-Mu'assasa al-miṣrīya al-'āmma li'l-ta'līf wa'l-nashr, 1967).

14. Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock and Basima Q. Bezirgan (eds.), Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1977) and Fernea, E. (ed.), New Voices of Change (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1985).



15. Citations of these materials, originating mainly in Egypt, are noted by Soha Abdel Kader, "A survey of trends in social sciences research on women in the Arab region, 1960-1980," in Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (London: Frances Pinter and Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 143-144 and 151-154.

16. Among contributions to this widely-dispersed literature, note Al-Hamar, A., "Education and human resources in the Arabian Gulf: a qualitative perspective," Journal of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies 1:3 (July 1975), 111-124, and Saber, M. al-D., "The woman's education and training in relation to social development," Education of the Masses 3 (1975), 30-38.

17. Oussedik, Fatma, "The Conditions Required for Women to Conduct Research on Women in the Arab Region," in UNESCO (ed.) Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (London: Frances Pinter; Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 113-121.

18. Cain, Melinda L., "Overview: Women and Technology--Resources for Our Future," in Dauber, Roslyn and Melinda L. Cain (eds.), Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1981), 4.

19. Boserup, Ester, Woman's Role in Economic Development (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

20. See titles in note 11 above, especially in Al-Qazzaz (1975 and 1977) and Van Dusen (1977).

21. Nelson, Cynthia, "Public and private politics: women in the Middle Eastern world," Ibrahim, S., and N. Hopkins (eds.), Arab Society in Transition (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1977), 121-149, and also in American Ethnologist 1:3 (August 1974).

22. Sweet, Louise E., "The Women of 'Ain ad Dayr," Anthropological Quarterly 40 (1967), 167-183; "In reality: some Middle Eastern women," in Matthiasson, Carolyn J. (ed.), Many Sisters: Women in Cross-cultural Perspective (New York: The Free Press, 1974), 379-397.

23. Titles which are mainstays in collections include E.W. Fernea, Guests of the Sheik (Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1965) and Nelson, Cynthia, "Women and Power in Nomadic Societies of the Middle East," in Nelson, Cynthia (ed.), The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Greater Society (Berkeley, California: University of California Institute of International Studies, 1973).

24. Beck, Lois and Nikki Keddie (eds.), Women in the Muslim World (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978).

25. Smith, Jane I. (ed.), Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies (East Brunswick, New Jersey: Bucknell University Press, 1980).

26. UNESCO (ed.), Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (Paris: UNESCO, 1984); Hussain, Freda (ed.), Muslim Women (New York, 1984); Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock, Women and the Family in the Middle East. New Voices of Change (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1985); al-Hibri, Azizah, Women and Islam. Women's Studies International Forum 5:2 (1982).
27. Robertson, Ina, L., "Arab Women of Al-Kuwait," in Field, Henry (ed.) Folklore and Customs of Southwestern Asia (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1940), 161-165.
28. Dickson, Violet, Forty Years in Kuwait (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971); Dickson, H.R.P., The Arab of the Desert (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1949) and Kuwait and Her Neighbours (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956).
29. Dr. Eleanor T. Calverley came to Kuwait in 1911 as the first woman doctor in the city. Her writing, like that of the Dickson couple, came as memoirs after World War II: My Arabian Days and Nights: A Medical Missionary in Old Kuwait (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958); see also her article, "Beauty for Ashes," Moslem World 10 (1920), 391-401.
30. Freeth, Zahra, Kuwait was My Home (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956). Freeth is the Dicksons' daughter, and has also written A New Look at Kuwait (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972)

and collaborated with Victor Winstone (Kuwait: Prospect and Reality [New York: Crone, Russak & Company]) and with Robert Wilson (the 1983 edition of her father's Arab of the Desert).

31. Al-Thakeb (Al-Thāqib), Fahad, The Kuwait Family: Today and Yesterday, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1974.

32. Al-Rumāiḥī, Muḥammad Ghānim (1975).

33. Nath, Kamla, "Education and Employment Among Kuwaiti Women," in Beck and Keddie (1978), 172-188.

34. Meleis, Afaf Ibrahim, Nagat el-Sanabary and Diane Beeson, "Women, Modernization and Education in Kuwait," Comparative Education Review (February 1979), 115-124.

35. Torki, Fawki G., "Trends and Differentials in Age at Marriage in Kuwait, 1965-1975,": in Hazayyin, S.A. and G.T. Acsadi (eds.), Family and Marriage in Some African and Asiatic Countries (Cairo: Demographic Centre, 1976), 447-476; Hill, Allan G., "Fertility Trends and Differentials in Kuwait," in Allman, James (ed.), Women's Status and Fertility in the Muslim World (New York: Praeger, 1978), 95-122. Other articles by Hill (1969 to 1981) which mention population issues in Kuwait are cited in Clements (1985), items 243 to 247.

36. Allaghi, Farida and Aisha Almana, "Survey of Research on Women in the Arab Gulf Region," in Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 14-40.

37. Shelash, Mesad Falih Ghanim, Change in the Perception of the Role of Women in Kuwait, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1985.

38. Al-Misnad, Sheikha, The Development of Modern Education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar with Special Reference to the Modern Education of Women and Their Position in Modern Gulf Society, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Durham, U.K., 1984 (appearing as The Development of Modern Education in the Gulf [London: Ithaca Press, 1985]); Al-Musallam, Bassama Khalid, Women's Education in Kuwait and its Effect on Future Expectations: An Ethnography of a Girls' Sex-segregated Secondary School, Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York, Buffalo, 1984.

39. Chaleby, K., "Women of Polygamous Marriages in an In-patient Psychiatric-service in Kuwait," Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases 173 (November 1, 1985), 56-58.

40. See also Mohammed Yusef Al-Musailim, Current Problems of Educational Administration in the State of Kuwait, Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Social Science, (University of Durham, United Kingdom, 1987).

41. Al-Sabah, Suad M., Development Planning in an Oil Economy and the Role of the Women: The Case of Kuwait (London: Eastlords, 1983); Ismael, Jacqueline S., Kuwait: Social Change in Historical Perspective (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982).

42. Family Development Society, March of Kuwaiti Women in 11 Years Through the Family Development Society: A Documentary Book (Kuwait: Family Development Society's Research, Studies and Information Committee, [no date] [1974?]); presented by Nouriya As-Saddani, translated by Franco Y. Shihab.

43. See above, note 32; a recent contribution is his "Effect of oil on the condition of Arab women in the Gulf," in Women and Their Role in the Arab Unity Movement (in Arabic), (Beirut: Centre for the Arab Unity Studies, 1982), 231-251.

44. 'Abd-al-Bāsiṭ, Aḥmed A., "On Working Women in Kuwait and the Gulf," (in Arabic) presented at the First Regional Conference on Women in the Arabian Gulf (Kuwait, 1975): Dirāsāt 'an awḍa' al-mar'a, p. 205.

45. See above, note 31.

46. 'Abd-al-Khālīq, Nāṣif, "The role of Kuwaiti women in development administration," (in Arabic) JSS (1981) and in Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamāniyāt I. 373-429.



47. Al-Najjār, Bāqir (Al-Naggar, Baker), "Arab Women and Transformation of Arab Social Order: The Case of Women in Arab Gulf Societies," (in Arabic) JSS 13.4 (Winter 1985), 155-166, 586.

48. Hjärpe, 12.

49. Hjärpe, 12.

50. Qur'ān, 2:256.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER 3

## THEORY

1. Stark, Werner, The Sociology of Knowledge (London: Routledge, 1958), 46ff.; Holzner, Burkart, Reality Construction in Society (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman, 1972), 1-19.
2. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 15 (1968), David L. Sills (ed.), 1.
3. Among others, Neisser 1965; Eriksson 1975; Hekman 1986.
4. Quoted in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 3, 214 referenced to 1785, Essai sur l'application de l'analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1.
5. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 3, (1968), 202.
6. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 8 (1968), 428, with reference to: Bacon, Francis (1605) 1958, The Advancement of Learning, edited with an introduction by G.W. Kitchin (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1958).

7. Durkheim, Emile and Marcel Mauss, Primitive Classification, (1901-1902) translated by Rodney Needham (London: Cohen and West, 1963) from De quelques formes primitives de classification 1901-1902 Année Sociologique 1903.
8. Written in 1912 and later translated and published as The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1954).
9. Mannheim, Karl (1922-1940), Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology, edited by Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge, New York: Oxford University Press 1953); (1923-1929), Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, edited by Paul Kecskemeti (New York: Oxford University Press 1953); (1929-1931), Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Knowledge (New York: Harcourt; London: Routledge 1953).
10. Mannheim, Karl (1929-1930), Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Oxford University Press; London: Routledge 1954).
11. Discussed in Peter L. Bergman and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 11.

12. See, for instance, Wallerstein, I., The Modern World System I, II (New York: Academic Press, 1974 and 1980) and work by S.N. Eisenstadt and Fernand Braudel.
13. Gunter W. Remmling, Road to Suspicion: A Study of Modern Mentality and the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1967).
14. See note 7 above.
15. Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), introduction.
16. "Verstehen", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 15, 308-313.
17. Stark (1958), 109.
18. Heisenberg, Werner, Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962).
19. Goldman, Lucien, Towards a Sociology of the Novel (London: Tavistock, 1975), 6.

20. Pike, Kenneth L., "Language as Behavior and Etic and Emic Standpoints for the Description of Behavior", in Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.), Social Psychology: Readings and Perspective (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), 120.
21. Simonds, A.P., Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952), 42-45, "What is the Sociology of Knowledge?"
22. Bonnell, Victoria E., "The Uses of Theory, Concepts and Comparison in Historical Sociology," Comparative Study of Society and History 22 (1980), 156-173.
23. Cornillon, Susan Koppelman (ed.), Images of Women in Fiction (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University, 1972); Herzog, Kristin, Women, Ethnics and Exotics (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee, 1983); Johnson, Julie Greer, Women in Colonial Spanish American Literature: Literary Images (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983).
24. Sherman, Julia A. and Evelyn Torton Beck, The Prism of Sex (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1977); Keller, Evelyn F., Reflections on Gender and Science (New Haven: Yale University, 1985); Dwyer, Daisy H., Images and Self-Images: Male and Female in Morocco (New York: Columbia, 1978); Ardener, Shirley (ed.), Perceiving Women (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975).

25. Blee, Kathleen M. and Dwight B. Billings, "Reconstructing Daily Life in the Past: An Hermeneutical Approach to Ethnographic Data", Sociological Quarterly, 27, 4 (1986), 443-462.
26. Mannheim, Karl, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, edited by Paul Kecskemeti (New York: Oxford University, 1972).
27. In UNESCO's Social Science Research (1984), p. 15-17, citing evidence of Sayigh, Boulding, Boserup, Buvinic, Dixon, Tinker, Huston, Mickelwit, et al.
28. American researchers mentioned are Halpern, M., The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Eisenstadt, S.N., Modernization: Protest and Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966); Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: MacMillan, 1964).
29. Freeth, Zahra, Kuwait Was My Home (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956); Nath, Kamla, "Education and Employment Among Kuwaiti Women," pp. 172-188 in Beck and Keddie, Women in the Muslim World (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1978).
30. The term is from Henry C. Triandis who says that by subjective culture one means "a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment", The Analysis of Subjective



Culture (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972), 3.

31. Mernissi, Fatima, Beyond the Veil (London: Al Saqi Books, 1985); Fernea, Elizabeth, Guests of the Sheik (Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1965), New Voices of Change (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1985); Youssef, Nadia, Women and Work in Developing Countries (Berkeley: University of California, Population Monograph Series 15, 1974).

32. Keddie, Nikki, "Problems in the study of Middle Eastern women," International Journal of Middle East Studies 10 (1979), 225-240; Sayigh, Rosemary, "Roles and Functions of Arab Women: A Critique," in Yahyā F. Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya, vol. I (Kuwait: Kāzima, 1982), esp. 115, 121-122; Waines, David, "Through a Veil Darkly: The Study of Women in Muslim Societies. A Review Article," Comparative Study of Society and History 24 (1982), 642-659; see also Van Dusen, Roxann, "The Study of Women in the Middle East: Some thoughts," Bulletin of the Middle East Studies Association (May 1976), 1-20; and most recently, Marshall, Susan E., "Paradoxes of Change: Culture Crisis, Islamic Revival, and the Reactivation of Patriarchy," Journal of Asian and African Studies 19 (1984), 1-17.

33. Keddie, esp. 226-239.

34. Sayigh, esp. 115, 121-122; Fatma Oussedik, "The conditions required for women to conduct research on women in the Arab region," Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World (London: Frances Pinter and Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 116-117.
35. Waines, 643.
36. These definitions are taken from Nielsen, Joyce McCarl, Sex in Society: Perspectives on Stratification (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1978), 170-171. Also consulted was the literature cited in Nielsen: Broverman (1972); Maccoby (1966); Maccoby and Jacklin (1974); Money and Ehrhardt (1972); Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974); Terman and Miles (1968). On female status in the Middle East, the following are also to be noted: Friedl, Ernestine, "The Position of Women: Appearance and Reality," Anthropological Quarterly 40 (1967), 97-108; Antoun, Richard, "On the Modesty of Women in Arab Muslim Villages: A Study in the Accommodation of Traditions," American Anthropologist 70 (1968), 671-697; Maher, Vanessa, Women and Property in Morocco (Cambridge, 1974), 91; Morsy, Soheir, "The Changing Role and Status of Arab Women," Master's thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1974; Sweet, Louise, "In Reality: Some Middle Eastern Women," pp. 379-97 in Matthiasson, Carolyn (ed.), Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective (New York, 1974); Janet Zollinger Giele and Audrey Chapman Smock (eds.), Women: Roles in 8 Countries (New York: John Wiley, 1977); Alice Schlegel (ed.),

Sexual Stratification A Cross-Cultural View (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross (eds.), Women in the World (Santa Barbara, California: Clio Books, 1976); Beverly Lindsay, Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women: The Impact of Race, Sex and Class (New York: Praeger, 1980); Rae Lesser Blumberg, Stratification: Socio-Economic and Sexual Stratification (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1978).

## NOTES

## CHAPTER 4

## METHODOLOGY

1. International Encyclopedia of Social Science, Volume 8: 428, "Sociology of Knowledge" written by Lewis Coser for the 1968 edition. Taking Mannheim as the leading representative of the approach, those which would redirect the discipline tend to reinterpret Mannheim's expositions (Neisser, Hans, On the Sociology of Knowledge, New York: James H. Heineman, Inc., 1965), extend them (Bauman, Zygmunt, Hermeneutics and Social Science, New York: Columbia University, 1978) or recover his definitions (Hekman, Susan J., Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Knowledge, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1986).
2. Krippendorff, Klaus, Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology (Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1980).
3. Kuhn, Thomas, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago and Toronto, Canada: University of Chicago and University of Toronto, 1962).
4. This brief account of the history follows that in Krippendorff, Chapter 1, 13-20.

5. Summaries include: Berelson, B. and Lazarfeld, P.F., The Analysis of Communicative Content (Chicago and New York: University of Chicago and Columbia University, 1948); Berelson, B., Content Analysis in Communications Research (New York: Free Press, 1952); Gerbner, G., O.R. Holsti, K. Krippendorff, W.J. Paisley and P.J. Stone (eds.), The Analysis of Communication Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques (New York: John Wiley, 1969).
6. For example: Gordon, David C., Women of Algeria: An Essay on Change (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1968); Herzog, Kristin, Women, Ethnics and Exotics: Images of Power in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Fiction (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1983).
7. El-Assmar, Fouzi, Through the Hebrew Looking Glass: Arab Stereotypes in Children's Literature (London: Amana Books, 1986).
8. Cornillon, Susan Koppleman, Images of Women in Fiction (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University, 1972); Dwyer, Daisy Hilse, Images and Self Images: Male and Female in Morocco (New York: Columbia University, 1978).
9. Blee, Kathleen M. and Dwight B. Billings, "Reconstructing Daily Life in the Past: An Hermeneutical Approach to Ethnographic Data" in Sociological Quarterly, 27:4 (1986), 443-462.

10. Allaghi, Farida and Aisha Almana, "Research on Women in the Gulf Region" in Social Science Research in the Arab World (Paris: UNESCO, 1984).
11. The transcription conforms, by and large, to the standard system for the transliteration of Arabic followed by the International Journal of Middle East Studies. In the case of common proper names like Abdul Nasser and well-known places like Cairo and Beirut, standard English spellings are used.
12. The 1985 census indicates 342,400 Kuwaiti female residents and 388,200 non-Kuwaiti female residents in Kuwait; the latter includes expatriates from 120 different countries. Kuwait: Facts and Figures (Kuwait: Ministry of Information, 1986).
13. Perhaps the best introduction to the literature about bedouin is Nelson, Cynthia (ed.), The Desert and the Sown (Berkeley: University of California 1972); a study of the migration patterns of one Arabian tribal group is Cole, Donald P., Nomad of the Nomads: The Al-Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1975); the most recent book length contribution to the literature on bedouin life is the splendid Abu-Lughod, Lila, Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1986).



14. Nielsen, Joyce McCarl, Sex in Society: Perspectives on Stratification (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1978), 170-171. For extended discussions see also Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.), Women in the Muslim World (Cambridge and London: Harvard University, 1978), introduction, 1-34; Janet Zollinger Giele and Audrey Chapman Smock, Women: Role and Status in Eight Countries (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), Introduction 1-32 and conclusion 383-422; Jane I. Smith (ed.), Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies (Lewisburg and London: Bucknell University and Associated University, 1980).

15. The divisions follow those of Jan Hjärpe, a Scandinavian social scientist analyzing the place of women in Muslim society: "The Attitude of Islamic Fundamentalism towards the Question of Women in Islam," in Utas, Bo (ed.), Women in Islamic Societies: Social Attitudes and Historical Perspectives (London: Curzon Press, 1983) 12-25.

16. Hjärpe, 12.

17. Calverley, E. J., Beauty for Ashes, 391.

18. Meleis, A.I., Nagate El-Sanabary and Diane Beeson, "Women, modernization, and education in Kuwait", Comparative Education Review 23 (February 1979), 115-124.

Appendix A      Actions and Dates of 1901-22 Studies listed in the study

#	Year	Study
01	1900	Calverley, Thomas G.
02	1912	Tracy, Frank
03	1900	Anderson, John L.
04	1904	Spencer, David R. J.
05	1908	Johnson, John
06	1900	See <b>A P P E N D I C E S</b>
07	1910	Johnson, George W.
08	1910	Johnson, John
09	1900	Calverley, Thomas G.
10	1900	Anderson, John L.
11	1900	Spencer, David R. J.
12	1900	Johnson, John
13	1900	Johnson, John
14	1900	Johnson, John
15	1900	Johnson, John
16	1900	Johnson, John
17	1900	Johnson, John
18	1900	Johnson, John
19	1900	Johnson, John
20	1900	Johnson, John
21	1900	Johnson, John
22	1900	Johnson, John
23	1900	Johnson, John

## Appendix A. Author and date of the 85 titles used in the study.

#	Date	Author
01	1920	Calverley, Eleanor T.
02	1937	Stark, Freya
03	1940	Robertson, Ina L.
04	1949	Dickson, Harold R.P.
05	1949	Dickson, Zahra
06	1950	Van Pelt, Mary Cubberly
07	1956	Dickson, Harold R.P.
08	1956	Freeth, Zahra
09	1958	Calverley, Eleanor T.
10	1964	Al-Farḥān, Rāshid 'Abdallā
11	1969	Ministry of Education, Government of Kuwait
12	1970?	Abū 'Alī, Muḥammad 'Abdallā
13	1971	Dickson, Violet
14	1972	Freeth, Zahra
15	1972	Freeth, Zahra and Victor Winstone
16	1972	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
17	1974?	Family Development Society
18	1974	Al-Thakeb, Fahad T. (Al-Thāqib, Fahad T.)
19	1975	Al-Marzook, S.M. (Al-Marzūq, Ṣabrīya Muḥammad)
20	1975	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
21	1975	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
22	1975	Al-Ḥamar, A.
23	1975	Al-Thāqib, Fahad

## Appendix A. (Continued)

#	Date	Author
24	1975	Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad
25	1975	Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad
26	1975	'Abd-al-Bāsiṭ, Aḥmad A.
27	1976	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
28	1976	Bashīr, R.I.
29	1976	Cornell, M. Louise
30	1976	Al-Quṭub, Ishāq
31	1977	Osborne, Christine
32	1978	Hill, Allan G.
33	1978	Nath, Kamla
34	1979	Meleis, Afaf Ibrahim, Nagat el-Sanabary and Diane Beeson
35	1979	United Nations Development Programme
36	1979	Al-'Aṭīya, Fawziya
37	1979	Al-Zaydī, 'Abbās Yāsir
38	1980	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
39	1980	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
40	1980	Shilling, Nancy Adams
41	1980	Torki, Mostafa A.
42	1981	Andrews, George
43	1981-82	'Abd-al-Khāliq, Nāṣif
44	1982	Ismael, Jacqueline S.
45	1982	Kunkūr, Balka

## Appendix A. (Continued)

#	Date	Author
46	1982	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
47	1982	Al-Naser, Fahed (Al-Nasir, Fahad)
48	1982	Meleis, Afaf I.
49	1982	Ḥusayn, 'Aliya Ḥasan
50	1982	Al-Khālīd, Fīḍa
51	1982	Al-Fallāḥ, Nūra
52	1982	Al-Najjār, Bāqir
53	1982	Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad
54	1982	Al-Rujaib, Latīfa 'Isā
55	1982	Al-Sa'dāwī, Nawāl
56	1982	Al-Ṭālib, 'Umar M. Muṣṭafā
57	1982	'Abd-al-Jawwād, In'ām Sayyid
58	1982	'Abd-al-Muṭṭī, 'Abd-al-Bāsīt
59	1982	'Abd-al-Raḥmān, 'Awāṭif
60	1983	Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya
61	1983	Zāhir, Aḥmad Jamāl
62	1983	Al-Ṣabāḥ, Su'ād M.
63	1983	Al-Tarrāḥ, 'Alī
64	1983	Al-Najjār, Bāqir
65	1984	Al-Misnad, Sheikha
66	1984	Al-Musallam, Bassāma Khālīd
67	1984	Allaghi, Farida and Aisha Almana
68	1984	Al-Falah, Noura (Al-Fallāḥ, Nūra)
69	1984	Al-Zabīn, Dalāl

## Appendix A. (Continued)

#	Date	Author
70	1985	Shelash, Meṣad Fāliḥ Ghānim
71	1985	Ḥusayn, Fāṭima (Hussein, Fatima)
72	1985	Al-Bāṭṭinī, Bazza
73	1985	Arasoghli, Aida
74	1985	Chaleby, K.
75	1985	Hatem, Mervat
76	1985	Ramazani, Nesta
77	1985	Al-Ṣabāḥ, Suād M
78	1985	Al-Najjār, Bāqir
79	1985	Ḥijāzī, Muṣṭafā
80	1986	(Al-) Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad
81	1986	Al-Nafīṣī, 'Abdallā Fahad
82	1986	Al-Jardāwi, 'Abd-al-Ra'ūf 'Abd-al-'Azīz
83	1987	Wells, Suzi and Bazza Al-Bāṭṭinī
84	1987	Bashīr, Rif'at Ibrāhīm
85	1987	Gannon, Robert



## Appendix B.

Details of Independent VariablesPopulation

#	Type	Publication	Profession	Education	Sex	Nat
101.20	article	U.S.A.	physician	M.D./E	F	Am
102.37	article	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br
103.40	partbook	U.S.A.	teacher	Bach/E	F	Ca
304.49	book	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br
105.49	article	U.K.	writer	Bach/E	F	Br
106.50	article	U.S.A.	nurse	Bach/E	F	Am
307.56	book	U.K.	official	Bach/E	M	Br
308.56	book	U.K.	writer	Bach/E	F	Br
309.58	book	U.S.A.	physician	M.D./E	F	Am
410.64	book	Kuwait	official	----/A	M	Kt
211.69	report	Kuwait	official	Mstr/A	M	Eg
212.70	article	Kuwait	----	Ph.D/A	M	-
313.71	book	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br
314.72	book	U.K.	writer	Bach/E	F	Br
315.72	book	U.K.	writer	Bach/E	F	Br
416.72	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
317.74	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
318.74	disser	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
319.75	thesis	U.K.	----	Mstr/E	F	Kt
320.75	report	U.S.A.	----	----	-	-
421.75	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
123.75	article	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
223.75	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
224.75	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
225.75	article	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
226.75	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/G	M	Eg
327.76	report	U.S.A.	----	----	-	-
328.76	partbook	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
129.76	article	Canada	----	Ph.D/E	F	Ca
230.76	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Jo
331.77	book	U.K.	writer	----/E	F	Br
132.78	partbook	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Am
133.78	partbook	U.S.A.	researcher	Mstr/E	F	In
134.79	article	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
135.79	report	U.S.A.	----	----	-	-
236.79	paper	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	F	Ar
237.79	paper	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Iq
438.80	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
439.80	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
140.80	partbook	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
141.80	article	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Kt
142.81	article	Kuwait	writer	----/E	M	Br

## Appendix B. (Continued)

#	Type	Publication	Profession	Education	Sex	Nat
243.81	article	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	Eg
344.82	book	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Ca
445.82	book	Kuwait	nurse	----/T	F	Tu
446.82	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
347.82	thesis	U.S.A.	----	Mstr/E	M	Kt
148.82	article	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
249.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	F	Eg
250.82	paper	Kuwait	official	Bach/A	F	Kt
251.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Kt
252.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
253.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
254.82	paper	Kuwait	official	Ph.D/A	F	Kt
255.82	paper	Kuwait	phys/writer	M.D./E	F	Eg
256.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Iq
257.82	paper	Kuwait	researcher	Ph.D/A	F	Eg
258.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Eg
259.82	paper	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/-	F	Eg
460.83	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
461.83	book	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Jo
362.83	book	U.K.	writer	Ph.D/E	F	Kt
363.83	disser	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
264.83	article	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
365.84	book	U.K.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Ar
366.84	disser	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Kt
167.84	partbook	U.K.	researcher	Ph.D/E	F	Lb
168.84	partbook	U.K.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Kt
269.84	paper	Mid East	----	----/A	F	Kt
370.85	disser	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Kt
471.85	book	Kuwait	writer	Bach/A	F	Kt
472.85	book	Kuwait	writer	----/A	F	Kt
173.85	article	Mid East	writer	----/E	F	Le
174.85	article	U.K.	professor	Ph.D/E	-	-
175.85	article	U.S.A.	professor	Ph.D/E	F	Am
176.85	article	U.S.A.	researcher	----/E	F	Am
177.85	article	U.K.	writer	Ph.D/E	F	Kt
278.85	article	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/E	M	Ar
279.85	article	Mid East	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Kt
380.86	book	U.K.	professor	Ph.D/-	M	Ar
481.86	book	Kuwait	----	Ph.D/A	M	Kt
482.86	book	Kuwait	professor	Ph.D/A	M	-
383.87	book	Kuwait	writer	----/E	F	-
484.87	book	Kuwait	----	Ph.D/A	M	-
185.87	paper	U.K.	professor	Mstr/E	M	Br

Am-American; Ar-Arab\*; Br-British; Ca-Canadian; Eg-Egyptian\*;  
 In-Indian; Iq-Iraqi\*; Jo-Jordanian\*; Kt-Kuwaiti\*; Lb-Libyan\*;  
 Le-Lebanese\*; T-Turkish. (\* = Arab)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITING ON WOMEN IN KUWAIT

## I. Books and Parts of Books: (in chronological order)

## A. In English:

Dickson, Harold R. P. 1949. The Arab of the Desert. London: George Allen and Unwin.

A massive chronicle of the lives and ways of the bedouin of the Kuwait hinterland.

----- 1956. Kuwait and Her Neighbours. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Through anecdotal review, relates the early days of British involvement with the ruling family, and the Dicksons' daily involvement with bedouin and Kuwait.

Freeth, Zahra. 1956. Kuwait Was My Home. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Unavailable to this study.

Calverley, Eleanor T. 1958. My Arabian Days and Nights: A Medical Missionary in Old Kuwait. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Reviews the establishment of a women's section of the mission hospital and the life of a Western family with young children under often difficult conditions.

Dickson, Violet. 1971. Forty Years in Kuwait. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Diary notes allow particular detail of observations by a naturalist and close observer of humankind, a colonialist lady, wife and mother.

Freeth, Zahra. 1972. A New Look at Kuwait. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Account of return to visit childhood home; reminiscences and comparisons of old and new Kuwait.

----- and Victor Winstone. 1972. Kuwait: Prospect and Reality. New York: Crone, Russak and Company.

Dependable standard reference for history of Kuwait.

Family Development Society. 1974? March of the Kuwaiti Women in 11 Years through the Family Development Society. Kuwait: Family Development Society. Tr. Franco Y. Shihab.

Describes the beginning, membership and projects of the first women's group in Kuwait, 1963 - 1974.

Al-Thakeb, Fahad T. (Al-Thāqib, Fahad T.). 1974. The Kuwaiti Family: Today and Yesterday. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Marzook, S. M. (Al-Marzūq, Ṣabrīya Muḥammad). 1975. A Study of Social Change in Kuwait with Special Reference to the Status of Women. Masters thesis, University of Durham, UK.

Looks critically through experience and observation at the situation of women in Kuwait, describes women's and wives' subservient position in society, family.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. 1975. Report on Women's Status in Kuwait. New York: United Nations.

Unavailable to this study.

-----, 1976? Characteristics of the Kuwaiti Woman in the 1957, 1965, 1970, 1975 Census. New York: United Nations.

Unavailable to this study.

Huzayyin, S.A. and G.T. Acsadi (eds.). 1976. Family and Marriage in Some African and Asiatic Countries. Cairo: Cairo Demographic Centre.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Angari, S. 1976. The Kuwaiti Working Mother: An Exploration of Changing Sex Roles. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Northern Colorado.

Unavailable to this study.

Osborne, Christine. 1977. The Gulf States and Oman. London: Croom Helm.

Osborne's chapter devoted to Kuwait reflects circumstances of the social elite in the '70s.

United Nations Development Programme. 1979. Mission Report: Integration of Women in Development in Six Arab Countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Kuwait). New York: United Nations.

Unavailable to this study.

Abdul Baqi Bustan, Ahmad A. (Al-Bustān, Aḥmad 'Abd-al-Bāqī). 1980. A Survey of Recent Trends and Developments in the Higher Educational System of the State of Kuwait. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Descriptive study of tertiary educational system.

Al-Shallāl, Khālīd Aḥmad. 1980. The Participation of Kuwaiti Women in the Labor Force and their Distribution in Jobs. Master's thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Unavailable to this study.

Ismael, Jacqueline S. 1982. Kuwait: Social Change in Historical Perspective. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Solid research about Kuwait; little reference to women.

Al-Naser, Fahed (Al-Nasir, Fahad). 1982. Marriage and Social Change in Kuwait. Master's thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Sabah, Suad M. 1983. Development Planning in an Oil Economy and the Role of the Woman: the Case of Kuwait. London: Eastlords.

Theoretical substance, indicates the imperative of women's involvement in development.



Al-Tarrah, Ali. 1983. Economic Development and the Structure of the Kuwaiti Labor Force. Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Misnad, Sheikha. 1984. The Development of Modern Education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar with Special Reference to the Modern Education of Women and their Position in Modern Gulf Society. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, U.K. Published as The Development of Modern Education in the Gulf. London: Ithaca Press, 1985.

The role and status of women in any society ought to be judged from within that society and according to its own norms and traditions; looks at men's attitudes.

Al-Musallam, Bassama Khalid. 1984. Women's Education in Kuwait and its Effect on Future Expectations: An Ethnography of a Girls' Sex-Segregated Secondary School. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Thorough work on a microcosm within the educational system.

Shelash, Mesad Falih Ghanim. 1985. Change in the Perception of the Role of Women in Kuwait. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University.

Employs a symbolic interactionist perspective to explore perceptions of women's role in Kuwait through interviews with University students and parents.

(Al-) Rumaihi, Muhammad. 1986. Beyond Oil: Unity and Development in the Gulf. London: Al Saqi Books. Tr. James Dickins.

Based on observations of the pressures on society transformed by wealth and developing infrastructure.

Wells, Suzi and Bazza Al-Batini. 1987. Traditions: the Folklore of Women and Children in Kuwait. Kuwait: Kuwait Bookshops.

Colorfully illustrated anecdotal and descriptive presentation of folklore and traditions.



Al-Musailim, Mohammed Yusef. 1987. Current Problems of Educational Administration in the State of Kuwait. Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Social Science, University of Durham, U.K.

Descriptive analysis of formal school structure.

#### B. In Arabic:

Al-Farḥān, Rāshid 'Abdallā. 1964. Al-Nizām al-ijtimā'ī fi'l-Islām bayn al-rajul wa'l-mar'a [Men and Women in the Social System in Islam]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt.

Thorough study of prevailing social system, in general terms, by prominent community leader. Stresses religiously-determined obligations.

Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya. 1972. At-Ta'rīkh al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [The History of Kuwaiti Women]. Part 1. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

Unavailable to this study.

-----, 1975. Al-Mar'a fi'l-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-'arabīya [Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula]. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Jam'īya ath-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya an-nisā'īya. 1975. Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī: Majmū'a dirāsāt al-mu'tamar al-iglīmī li'l-mar'a fi'l-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-'arabīya [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf: Proceedings of the Regional Conference on Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, Kuwait, April 1975]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq.

Proceedings of the 1975 Kuwait conference, with contributions from Iraq, Egypt and the Gulf.

Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya. 1980a. At-Ta'rīkh al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya: min mudhakirātī khilāl sab'ata 'ashar 'ām wa-nusf, 1963 - 1980 [The History of Kuwaiti Women: Memoirs of Seventeen and a Half Years, 1963 - 1980]. Part 2. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

Details of personal involvement with women's activities in Kuwait; includes in-depth documentation of events and texts of parliamentary debate on right to vote.

-----, 1980b. Al-Mar'a al-kuwaytiya fi'l-garn al-hādī wa'l-'ishrīn [Kuwaiti Women in the Twenty-first Century]. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

Narrative of projections into future reflecting the current experience of a Kuwaiti feminist community leader.

Kunkūr, Balka. 1982. Kuntu awwal mumarrida fi'l-Kuwayt [I was the First Nurse in Kuwait]. Tr. Translation Committee. Kuwait: Dār Al-Kutub.

Based on diary and memories of 1952 work in Kuwait, includes impression that continuing modernization will have affect on status of women.

Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya. 1982. Al-Haraka an-nisā'iya al-'arabiya fi'l-garn al-'ishrīn, 1917 - 1981 [The Arab Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century, 1917 - 1981]. Kuwait: Dār Al-Siyāsa.

Account of women's movement in Arab world as a whole, where leadership by Egyptians has been especially significant.

-----, 1983. Al-Masīra at-ta'rīkhīya li'l-ḥuqūq as-siyāsīya li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytiya [The Historical Development of Political Rights for Kuwaiti Women during the Period 1971 to 1982]. Kuwait: Dār Al-Siyāsa.

Report of struggle for rights, culminating in open parliamentary debates which are analyzed.

Ẓāhir, Aḥmad Jamāl. 1983. Al-Mar'a fi'l-duwal al-khalīj al-'arabī: dirāsa maydanīya [Women in the Arabian Gulf States: A Field Study]. Kuwait: Dhāt al-silāsil.

Statistical analysis of survey of attitudes on women and their contributions to society.

Ḥusayn, Fāṭima (Hussein, Fatima). 1985. Nuqṭa [A Point]. Kuwait: Rabi'ān.

Collection of essays, many dealing with issues of ed-

ucation and political rights for women, originally published in the local press in the previous decade.

Al-Bāṭinī, Bazza. 1985. Tarā'if wa-hikāyāt nisā'īya: min al-turāth al-sha'bī al-kuwaytī [Anecdotes and Stories of Women: from the Kuwaiti Folk Heritage]. Part 1. Kuwait: B. Al-Bāṭinī.

Through traditional stories, songs and riddles, explores folklore of the private world of Kuwaiti women.

Al-Nafīsī, 'Abdallā Fahad. 1986. Al-'Amal al-nisā'ī fi'l-khalīj: al-wāqī' wa-'l-murtajī [Women's Work in the Gulf: Reality and Expectation]. Kuwait: Rabi'ān.

Edition of a work dealing with work of Kuwaiti women; suggests that rural women's status is higher, that modern urban life has taken away from status and role of women.

Al-Jardāwī, 'Abd-al-Ra'ūf 'Abd-al-'Azīz. 1986. Mushkilāt al-mar'a al-'āmila al-kuwaytīya wa'l-khalījīya wa-ittijāhātuhā [Problems and Trends among Kuwaiti and Gulf Working Women]. Kuwait: Dhāt al-silāsil.

Discusses both society's and women's deficient consciousness about women; reports the effect of customs and traditions and social compulsion.

Bashīr, Rif'at Ibrāhīm. 1987. Al-Taghayyur al-ijtimā'ī wa'l-tanmīya fī duwal al-khalīj al-'arabīya [Social Change and Development in the Arab States of the Gulf]. Kuwait: Dhāt al-silāsil.

Sees generation gap in choice of innovation among Kuwaitis; notes effect of system based on customs and traditions.

## II. Articles, Reports and Papers: (in chronological order)

### A. In English:

Calverley, Eleanor T. 1920. "Beauty for ashes." Moslem World, 10:391 - 401.

A missionary's assessment of the Kuwaiti Muslim woman's spiritual life.

Stark, Freya. 1937. "Kuwait." Geographical Magazine 5: 385 - 398.

Unavailable to this study.

Robertson, Ina L. 1940. "Arab Women of Al-Kuwait." In Henry Field (ed.), Folklore and Customs of Southwestern Asia. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 161-165.

Early account by a Western woman who lived in Kuwait; rare since it is reported that the printed book was never distributed.

Dickson, Zahra. 1949. "Kuwait and Its People." Islamic Review 37 (July): 25 - 27.

Unavailable to this study.

Van Pelt, Mary Cubberly. 1950. "The Sheikhdum of Kuwait." Middle East Journal 4.1 (January): 12 - 26.

Descriptive report by a seasoned resident observer.

Ministry of Education, Government of Kuwait. 1969. Access of Young Girls and Women to Technical and Vocational Education in Kuwait. Kuwait: Maṭba'at al-Hukūmat al-Kuwait. Cf. citation in Allaghi and Almana (UNESCO, Social Science Research, 1984): Moati, Yousef A. 1969. "The Access of Girls and Women to Technical and Vocational Education in Kuwait." Unpublished. Kuwait, 1969.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Ḥamar, 'Abd-al-Malik Yūsuf. 1975. "Al-Ta'līm al-ʿām wa'l-inma' al-basharī fi'l-khalīj al-ʿarabī: min manẓūr al-jānib al-kayfī [Education and human resources in the Arabian Gulf: a qualitative perspective]." Majalla dirāsāt ʿan al-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-ʿarabiya [Journal of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies] 1:3 (July): 111 - 124.

A qualitative perspective using Ministry of Education statistics; stresses importance of teachers, adult education.

Cornell, M. Louise. 1976. "The Development of Education for Women in Kuwait." Canadian and International Education 5 (December): 73 - 84.

Unavailable to this study; this author continued ear-



ly observations with a dissertation at McGill University on higher education in Kuwait.

Hill, Allan G. 1978. "Fertility trends and differentials in Kuwait." In Allman, James (ed.), Women's Status and Fertility in the Muslim World. New York: Praeger, 95-122.

With reference to statistical studies, indicates change effected by modernizing institutions.

Nath, Kamla. 1978. "Education and employment among Kuwaiti women." In Beck, Lois and Nikki Keddie (ed.), Women in the Muslim World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 172 - 188.

A Western perception of what modernization might mean to the Kuwaiti woman.

Meleis, Afaf Ibrahim, Nagat el-Sanabary and Diane Beeson. 1979. "Women, modernization and education in Kuwait." Comparative Education Review 23: (February) 115 - 124.

Explores particular Kuwaiti realities where equal access to education and traditional values have brought contradictions, where education is consumption rather than preparation for work.

Shilling, Nancy Adams. 1980. "The Social and Political Roles of Arab Women: A Study of Conflict." In Smith, Jane I. (ed.), Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies. Lewisberg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 100 - 145.

A political scientist explores perspective, methodology and the problems of definition and research as she tests hypotheses derived from long residence in the Arab world.

Torki, Mostafa A. 1980. "Validation of the MMPI MF Scale in Kuwait." Psychological Reports 47: 1152 - 1154.

This application of the MMPI MF Scale in Kuwait indicates that many items on the scale are not appropriate for Kuwaiti culture and have little value as indicators.

Andrews, George. 1981. "Focus on Kuwait's Women." The Kuwaiti Digest 9.2 (April/June), 27 - 32.

Brief description of women's activities.

Meleis, Afaf I. 1982. "Effect of modernization on Kuwaiti women." Social Science and Medicine 16,9: 965-970.

Stress on the importance of education for women.

Allaghi, Farida and Aisha Almana. 1984. "Survey of Research on Women in the Arab Gulf Region." In UNESCO, Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter, and Paris: UNESCO, 14 - 40.

Description of research in the Arab world as challenging models of modernization, citing adverse impact on working urban, rural and tribal women. Authors suggest that modernization and development may further lower status of women.

Al-Falah, Noura (Al-Fallāḥ, Nūra). 1984. "Kuwait: God's will --- and the process of socialization." In Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood is Global. Garden City, NY: Anchor Doubleday, 410 - 413.

Critical perspective on position of women in Kuwait.

Arasoghli, Aida (ed.). 1985. "Women of Kuwait." Al-Ra'idah (Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, Beirut Women's College), 2 - 8.

Education and work are most essential determining factors in society; "Islam says a woman should cover her hair and her arms but not her mind."

Chaleby, K. 1985. "Women of polygamous marriages in an patient psychiatric-service in Kuwait." Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 173 (November 1), 56 - 58.

Unavailable to this study.

Hatem, Mervat. 1985. "Conservative patriarchal modernization in the Arabian Gulf." Contemporary Marxism 1985: 96 - 109.

Unavailable to this study.

Ramazani, Nesta. 1985. "Arab Women in the Gulf." Middle East Journal 39.2 (Spring), 258 - 276.

Sees signs of a rising strength among traditionalist groups, and political activity in religious guise.



Al-Sabah, Suad M. 1985. "Working Women in the Gulf." The Arab Gulf Journal 5, 1 (April): 47 - 57.

Points out Gulf dependence on foreign labor and the need to facilitate women's entry into labor force.

Al-Lanqawi, Abdulla M. and Abdul M. Turay. 1985. "Aspired Educational and Occupational Status of Future Husbands: A Study of High School Females in Kuwait." Paper presented at the meeting of the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Rural Sociology Section.

Unavailable to this study.

Gannon, Robert. 1987. "Achieving Positive Change within a Different Cultural Environment." Paper presented at the meeting of the National League of Nursing, London, October. Mimeograph.

Describes the problems and some cautions in recruitment of women into a career with a low status image and the possibilities of mixing sexes in the education or work environment.

#### B. In Arabic:

Abū 'Alī, Muḥammad 'Abdallā. 1970. "Al-Mar'a al-Kuwaytīya [The Kuwait Woman]." In Al-Mar'a al-kuwaytīya fi'l-mādī wa'l-hādir [The Kuwait Woman, Past and Present] prepared by the Supreme Committee of Kuwait Woman's Day. Kuwait: Jam'iyat al-nahḍa al-'arabīya al-nisā'īya, 14 - 27.

Early descriptive account of Kuwaiti women's lifeworlds and progress.

Al-Thāqib, Fahad Thāqib. 1975. "Mawqif al-kuwayt min makānat al-mar'a fī mujtami'nā al-ma'aṣir [The situation of Kuwait concerning the place of women in contemporary society]." In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (ed.), Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 189-286.

Difference in education is reflected in difference in work; describes social negotiation regarding women's position and role.

Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad. 1975a. "Wāqī' al-mar'a al-khalījīya [The Reality of women in the Gulf]." In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya wa'l-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (ed.), Dirāsāt 'an awdā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 5 - 12.

Introduction to the volume of proceedings of the first conference on women in the Gulf.

-----, 1975b. "Madhkhal li-dirāsāt al-wāqī' wa'l-taghayyur al-ijtimā'ī fī mujtami'āt al-khalīj al-mu'āṣira [Introduction to the study of reality and social change in the societies of the Arabian Gulf]." Journal of the Social Sciences (Kuwait) 3.2.

The issue of women is an issue of society; women's consciousness is limited and false with women seen as weak, emotional beings in need of guidance and supervision.

'Abd-al-Bāsiṭ, Aḥmad A. 1975. "Ḥawlā 'l-mar'a al-'āmila fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj [On working women in Kuwait and the Gulf]." In Al-Jam'īya ath-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya an-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (eds.), Dirāsāt 'an awdā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 305-334.

In-depth study examining status and condition of Gulf women in light of the distribution of capital and relationship to power.

Al-Quṭub, Ishāq. 1975. "Ittijāhāt al-fatāt al-jāmī'īya al-khalījīya naḥw ba'ḍ al-qaḍāyā al-ijtimā'īya wa'l-waṭanīya [Orientations of young Gulf university women to some socio-nationalistic issues]". In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (eds.), Dirāsāt 'an awdā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 265 - 285.

Results of survey of girls' attitudes, reflecting the situation of women in Kuwait society.

Al-ʿAṭīya, Fawziya. 1979. "Al-Ḥaḍāra wa'l-taghyīr al-ijtimāʿī wa-athārhumā fī musāhimat al-mar'a fī manṭiqat al-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Civilization and social change as they affect women's participation in the Arabian Gulf region]." In Markaz dirāsāt al-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Center for Arabian Gulf Studies] (ed.), Al-Insān wa'l-mujtamiʿ fi'l-khalīj al-ʿarabī: buḥūth al-nadwa al-ʿilmīya al-ʿālamīya al-thālitha li-markaz dirāsāt al-khalīj al-ʿarabī bi-jāmiʿat al-basra [Man and Society in the Arabian Gulf: Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of the Center for Arabian Gulf Studies, University of Basra]. vol. I. (Basra: Center for Arabian Gulf Studies, 1979).

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Zaydī, ʿAbbās Yāsir. 1979. "Dirāsāt ʿan al-mar'a fi'l-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Studies on women in the Arabian Gulf]." In Markaz dirāsāt al-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Center for Arabian Gulf Studies] (ed.), Al-Insān wa'l-mujtamiʿ fi'l-khalīj al-ʿarabī: buḥūth al-nadwa al-ʿilmīya al-ʿālamīya al-thālitha li-markaz dirāsāt al-khalīj al-ʿarabī bi-jāmiʿat al-basra [Man and Society in the Arabian Gulf: Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of the Center for Arabian Gulf Studies, University of Basra]. II: 149-232.

Shows contributions to society of woman who "rocks cradle with her right arm but rocks society with her left"; describes Kuwaiti women aiding men from the earliest days.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir. 1982. "Al-mar'a wa-ʿalāqāt al-intāj fī mujtamiʿāt al-khalīj al-taqlīdīya [Women and the Mode of Production in Traditional Gulf Society]". In Yaḥyā Fāʿiz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the 80s]. Kuwait: Kāzima, I:170-185.

Anticipating the broader exposition in his 1983 dissertation which will be released for examination by the general public at Durham in November, 1988.

Ḥusayn, ʿAliya Ḥasan. 1982. "Al-Mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-muṭallaqa wa'l-ʿamal: Dirāsa anthrōbūlūjīya li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-muṭallaqa [Divorced Kuwaiti women and work: anthropological study of divorced Kuwaiti women]". In Y. Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya [Women and Development in the '80's]. Kuwait: Kazima, II: 813-836.

Thorough study of divorced women and work at all levels of society.

Al-Khālīd, Fiḍḍa. 1982. "Ad-Dawr at-tanmawī li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [The development role of Kuwaiti women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80's]. Kuwait: Kāzima, I: 266-372.

Report by prominent Kuwaiti educator of field study and statistical analysis of survey.

Al-Fallāḥ, Nūra. 1982. "Naẓrat al-i'lām al-'arabī ilā 'amal al-mar'a: al-i'lām al-kuwaytī al-ṣuḥufī wa'l-mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [The Arab media's view of women's work: Kuwaiti press and women in development in the 1980's]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80's]. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 681 - 722.

Historical review of media presentation of women and women's work.

Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad. 1982. "Athar al-naft 'alā waḍ' al-mar'a al-'arabīya fi'l-khalīj [Effect of oil on the status of Arab women in the Gulf]." In Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-'arabīya (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa-dawruhā fī ḥarakāt al-waḥda al-'arabīya [Women and Their Role in the Arab Unity Movement]. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 231-251.

Social effects of oil wealth, sometimes not ameliorative of women's situation in a changing society.

Al-Rujaib, Laṭīfa 'Īsā. 1982. "Naḥwā idmāj al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-ma'āla fi'l-tanmīya [Towards inclusion of Kuwaiti women breadwinners in development]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80's]. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 794 - 812.

Explores participation of women in development and their entry into the Kuwaiti work force; focuses on divorced and unmarried women and other breadwinners.

Al-Sa'dāwī, Nawāl. 1982. "Al-'aqabāt amām al-mar'a al-'arabīya wa'l-tanmīya: ma'a tarkīz 'alā mashkilāt al-mar'a al-khalījīya [Obstacles facing Arab women and development: with concentration on problems of Gulf women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the 80's]. Kuwait:

Kāzima, I: 127 - 146.

False development in oil-rich nations; Gulf states depend on foreign labor while educated women are not working; legal, social and cultural obstacles for women.

Al-Ṭālib, 'Umar M. Muṣṭafā. 1982. "Taṭawwur al-mar'a fī mujtami' al-khalīj al-'arabī min khilāl al-qiṣṣa [Development of women of Arabian Gulf society as seen through fiction]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80's]. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 570-639.

Images from literature are used to illustrate relations between men and women in the Gulf.

'Abd-al-Jawwād, In'ām Sayyid. 1982. "Al-'awāmil al-binā'iya al-muḥaddida li'l-mushārīka al-ijtimā'iya li'l-mar'a al-khalījīya [Structural factors constraining participation of Gulf women in society]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Kāzima, I: 147 - 169.

Egyptian expert exploring the society from within governmental structure.

'Abd-al-Khālīq, Nāṣif. 1981, 1982. "Dawr al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya fī idārat al-tanmīya [The role of Kuwaiti women in development administration]." Journal of the Social Sciences 9.4 and in Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s], I: 373 - 429 and in the Kuwaiti daily Al-Siyāsa, Friday, 29 Jan., 1982.

Suggests that women have what men have as right of citizenship; notes increasing participation.

'Abd-al-Muṭī, 'Abd-al-Bāsiṭ. 1982. "Fi'l-wa'ī al-zā'if bi'l-mar'a al-khalījīya [On Gulf Women's False Consciousness]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the 80s]. Kuwait, Dar Kāzima, II: 723-754.

Uses literature for evaluation in light of "false consciousness" theoretical framework.



ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, ʿAwāṭif. 1982. "Ṣūrat al-mar'a al-khalījīya fī ṣaḥāfat al-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Gulf women as pictured by the Arabian Gulf press]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Kāẓima, II: 640-88.

Analyzes presentations of women in Gulf and Cairo media and their effect on self-definition.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir. 1983. "Al-Mar'a: dirāsa li-wāqīʿ al-taghayyur wa-mushkilatih [Women: a study of the problem of change]." Majalla kitābāt al-baḥraynīya. Journal of Bahrayni Writings. March-April.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Zabin, Dalāl. 1984. "[The Kuwaiti Woman and Her Role in the Work Field]." In Arabic. Paper presented at the Third Regional Conference of Women in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. United Arab Emirates.

Unavailable to this study.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir. 1985. "Al-Mar'a al-ʿarabīya wa-taḥawwulāt al-niẓām al-ijtimāʿī al-ʿarabī: ḥālat al-mar'a al-ʿarabīya al-khalījīya [Arab women and transformation of Arab social order: the case of women in Arab Gulf societies]." Journal of the Social Sciences 13.4 (Winter): 155 - 166, 586.

Transformation as petroleum brought change in basic structure of society; change in spite of interest in traditions.

Ḥijāzī, Muṣṭafā. 1985. "Wāqīʿ al-mar'a al-ʿarabīya wa-qadīyat al-tanmīya: kayfa taghayyur al-mar'a intāj is-tilābihā [The Reality of Arab Women and the Issue of Development]." Al-Waḥda, Year 1, no. 9 (June): 14 - 28.

Unavailable to this study.



## REFERENCES

## I. Books:

'Abd-al-Majīd, Fā'iza. 1967. [Women: Their Struggle in Different Fields]. Cairo: Wizārat al-thaqāfa, Al-Mu'assasa al-miṣrīya al-‘amma li'l-ta'līf wa'l-nashr.

Allman, James (ed.). 1978. Women's Status and Fertility in the Muslim World. New York: Praeger.

Anshen, Ruth Nanda (ed.). 1975. Mid-East: World Center. Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. New York: Cooper Square Publishers.

Ardener, Shirley (ed.). 1975. Perceiving Women. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Al-Azmeh, Aziz. 1981. Ibn Khaldūn in Modern Scholarship: A Study in Orientalism. London: Third World Centre.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1978. Hermeneutics and Social Science. New York: Columbia University Press.

Beck, Lois and Nikki Keddie (eds.). 1978. Women in the Muslim World. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Berger, Peter L. and Hansfried Kellner. 1981. Sociology Reinterpreted: An Essay on Method and Vocation. Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckman. 1967. The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday.

Boserup, Ester. 1970. Woman's Role in Economic Development. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Boulding, Elise. 1976. The Underside of History. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Brislin, Richard W., Walter J. Lonner, and Robert M. Thorndike. 1973. Cross-Cultural Research Methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bullough, Vern L. 1973. The Subordinate Sex: A History of Attitudes Toward Women. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Calverley, Eleanor T. 1958. My Arabian Days and Nights: A Medical Missionary in Old Kuwait. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Clements, Frank A. 1985. Kuwait. Oxford: Clio Press.

Cornillon, Susan Koppelman (ed.). 1972. Images of Women in Fiction. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green Popular Press.

Dār Al-Siyāsa. 1983. The Arabian Year Book 1983. Kuwait: Dār Al-Siyāsa.

Dauber, Roslyn and Melinda L. Cain (eds.). 1981. Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dickson, Harold R. P. 1949. The Arab of the Desert. London: George Allen and Unwin.

-----, 1956. Kuwait and Her Neighbours. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Dickson, Violet. 1971. Forty Years in Kuwait. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Duley, Margot I. and Mary I. Edwards (eds.). 1986. The Cross-Cultural Study of Women: A Comprehensive Guide. New York: The Feminist Press, The City University of New York.

Dwyer, Daisy Hilse. 1978. Images and Self-Images: Male and Female in Morocco. New York: Columbia University Press.

Eriksson, Björn. 1975. Problems of an Empirical Sociology of Knowledge. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Fernea, Elizabeth Warnock. 1965. Guests of the Sheik. Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday.

-----, (ed.). 1985. New Voices of Change. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

----- and Basima Q. Bezirgan (eds.). 1977. Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Freeth, Zahra. 1956. Kuwait Was My Home. London: George Allen and Unwin.

----- . 1972. A New Look at Kuwait. London: George Allen and Unwin.

----- and Victor Winstone. 1972. Kuwait: Prospect and Reality. New York: Crone, Russak and Company.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1975. Truth and Method. New York: Seabury Press.

----- . 1976. Philosophical Hermeneutics. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1985. Relativism and the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giele, Janet Zollinger and Audrey Chapman Smock (eds.). 1977. Women: Roles and Status in Eight Countries. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Glazer, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. New York: Aldine.

Glennon, Lynda M. 1979. Women and Dualism: A Sociology of Knowledge Analysis. New York: Longman.

Goldman, Lucien. 1975. Towards a Sociology of the Novel. London: Tavistock.

Gordon, David C. 1968. Women of Algeria: An Essay on Change. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Al-Ḥaddād, Yahyā Fā'iz (ed.). 1982. Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamāniyāt. Buḥūth wa-dirāsāt [Women and Development in the 80s: Research and Studies]. Kuwait: Dār Kāzima.

Halpern, Manfred. 1965. The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hanelink, Cees J. 1983. Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications: Planning National Information Policy. New York: Longman.

Heisenberg, Werner. 1962. Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Hekman, Susan J. 1986. Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Knowledge. Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press.

Herzog, Kristin. 1983. Women, Ethnics and Exotics. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press.

Al-Hibri, Azizah (ed.). 1982. Women and Islam. Women's Studies International Forum 5:2. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Holzner, Burkart. 1972. Reality Construction in Society. Cambridge: Schenkman.

Husayn, 'Azīza I. 1970. [Important Women in Islamic History]. Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa al-miṣrīya.

Husayn, Fāṭima (Hussain, Fatima). 1985. Nuqṭa [A Point]. Kuwait: Rabi'an.

Hussain, Asaf (ed.). 1984. Orientalism, Islam and Islamists. Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books.

Hussain, Freda (ed.). 1984. Muslim Women. London: Croom Helm.

Huzayyin, S.A. and G.T. Acsadi (eds.). 1976. Family and Marriage in Some African and Asiatic Countries. Cairo: Cairo Demographic Centre.

Ibrahim, Saad El-Din and Nicholas S. Hopkins (eds.). 1977. Arab Society in Transition: A Reader. Cairo: American University Press.

Ismael, Jacqueline S. 1982. Kuwait: Social Change in Historical Perspective. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society]. 1975. Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī: Majmū'a dirāsāt al-mu'tamar al-iqlīmī li'l-mar'a fi'l-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-'arabīya [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf: Proceedings of the Regional Conference on Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, Kuwait, April, 1975]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq.

- Johnson, Julie Greer. 1983. Women in Colonial Spanish American Literature. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Keller, Ellen Fox. 1985. Reflections on Gender and Science. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. 1980. Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. 1962. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kunkūr, Balka. 1982. Kuntu awal mumarriḍa fi'l-kuwayt [I was the first nurse in Kuwait]. Tr. Translation Committee. Kuwait: Dār Al-Kutub.
- Law, John. 1986. Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lipman-Blumen, Jean. 1984. Gender Roles and Power. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Maccoby, Eleanor Emmons and Carol Nagy Jacklin. 1974. The Psychology of Sex Differences. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mannheim, Karl. 1957. Systematic Sociology. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-ʿarabīya [Center for Arab Unity Studies] (ed.). 1982. Al-Mar'a wa-dawruhā fī ḥarakāt al-waḥda al-ʿarabīya [Women and their Role in the Arab Unity Movement]. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies.
- Al-Marzook, S. M. (Al-Marzūq, Ṣabriya Muḥammad). 1975. The Study of Social Change in Kuwait with Special Reference to the Study of Women. Master's thesis, University of Durham, U.K.
- Matthiasson, Carolyn J. (ed.). 1974. Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspectives. New York: The Free Press.
- Mernissi, Fatima. 1985. Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society. London: Al Saqi Books.



Mey, Marc de. 1982. The Cognitive Paradigm. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

Miles, Matthew B. and A. Michael Huberman. 1984. Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

Al-Misnad, Sheikha. 1984. The Development of Modern Education in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar with Special Reference to the Modern Education of Women and their Position in Modern Gulf Society. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, U.K.

----- . 1985. The Development of Modern Education in the Gulf. London: Ithaca Press.

Morgan, Robin (ed.), 1984. Sisterhood is Global. Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday.

Al-Musallam, Bassama Khalid. 1984. Women's Education in Kuwait and its Effect on Future Expectations: An Ethnography of a Girls' Sex-Segregated Secondary School. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Myrdal, Gunnar. 1969. Objectivity in Social Research. New York: Pantheon.

Al-Nageeb, Khaldoun H. 1976. Changing Patterns of Social Stratification in the Middle East: Kuwait (1950-1970) as a Case Study. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Neisser, Hans. 1965. On the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: James H. Heineman.

Nelson, Cynthia (ed.). 1973. The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Greater Society. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies.

Nielsen, Joyce McCarl. 1978. Sex in Society: Perspectives on Stratification. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

ʿOmar, ʿAbdullāh. 1965. [Islamic Precepts and their Impact on Personal Statutes]. Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif.

Osborne, Christine. 1977. The Gulf States and Oman. London: Croom Helm.



Pearce, Roy Harvey. 1965. The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Poggi, Gianfranco. 1972. Images of Society: Essays on the Sociological Theories of Tocqueville, Marx, and Durkheim. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Remmling, Gunter W. 1967. Road to Suspicion: A Study of Modern Mentality and the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Appleton Century Crofts.

Riley, Matilda White and Edward E. Nelson. 1974. Sociological Observation. New York: Basic Books.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist and Louise Lamphere (eds.). 1974. Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Royal Scottish Museum. 1985. The Evolving Culture of Kuwait. Collected by Jennifer M. Scarce. Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, and Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

(Al-) Rumaihi, Muhammad. 1986. Beyond Oil: Unity and Development in the Gulf. Tr. James Dickins. London: Al Saqi Books.

Al-Rumayhī, Muḥammad (Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad Ghānim). 1977. Mu'awwiqāt al-tanmīya al-ijtimā'īya wa'l-iqtisādīya fī mujtami'āt al-khalīj al-'arabī [Factors Preventing Socioeconomic Development in Arabian Gulf Societies]. Kuwait: Dār Kāzima.

-----, 1983. Al-Khalīj laysa al-naft: Dirāsa ishkālīyāt al-tanmīya wa'l-waḥda [The Gulf is not Oil: A Study of the Making of Development and Unity]. Kuwait: Dār Kāzima.

Rush, Alan. 1987. Āl-Ṣabāh: History and Genealogy of Kuwait's Ruling Family, 1752 - 1987. London: Ithaca Press.

Al-Sabah, Suad M. 1983. Development Planning in an Oil Economy and the Role of the Woman: the Case of Kuwait. London: Eastlords.

-----, 1984. Kuwait: Anatomy of a Crisis Economy. London: Eastlords.

Al-Saddānī, Nūrīya. 1972. Al-Ta'rīkh al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [The History of Kuwaiti Women]. Part 1. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

-----, 1975. Al-Mar'a fi'l-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-'arabīya [Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula]. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

-----, 1980a. Al-Ta'rīkh al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya: min mudhakirātī khilāl sab'ata 'ashar 'ām wa-nusf, 1963 - 1980 [The History of Kuwaiti Women: Memoirs of Seventeen and a Half Years, 1963 - 1980]. Part 2. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

-----, 1980b. Al-Mar'a al-kuwaytīya fi'l-qarn al-hādī wa'l-'ishrīn [Kuwaiti Women in the Twenty-first Century]. Kuwait: N. Al-Saddānī.

-----, 1982. Al-Haraka al-nisā'īya al-'arabīya fi'l-qarn al-'ishrīn, 1917 - 1981 [The Arab Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century, 1917-1981]. Kuwait: Dār Al-Siyāsa.

-----, 1983. Al-Masīra at-ta'rīkhīya li'l-huqūq al-siyāsīya li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [The Historical Development of Political Rights for Kuwaiti Women during the Period 1971 to 1982]. Kuwait: Dār Al-Siyāsa.

Said, Edward. 1978. Orientalism. New York: Pantheon.

Shari'ati, Ali. 1979. On the Sociology of Islam. Tr. Hamid Algar. Berkeley: Mizan.

Shelash, Mesad Falih Ghanim. 1985. Change in the Perception of the Role of Women in Kuwait. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus.

Sherman, Julia A. and Evelyn Torton Beck (eds.). 1979. The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Al-Sibā'i, Muṣṭafā. 1962. Al-Mar'a bayn al-fiqh wa'l-qānūn [Women between Islamic and Secular Law]. Damascus: Manshūrāt al-maktab al-islāmī.

Smith, Jane I. (ed.). 1980. Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies. Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press.

Stark, Werner. 1958, 1972. The Sociology of Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Al-Thakeb (Al-Thāqib), Fahad. 1974. The Kuwaiti Family: Today and Yesterday. Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, Columbus.

Triandis, Henry C. 1972. The Analysis of Subjective Culture. New York: Wiley-Interscience.

United Nations Development Programme. 1979. Mission Report: Integration of Women in Development in Six Arab Countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Kuwait). New York: United Nations.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1984. Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter and Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. 1975. Report on Women's Status in Kuwait. Commission in Charge of Women's Affairs. New York: United Nations.

-----, 1976? Characteristics of the Kuwaiti Woman in the 1957, 1965, 1970, 1975 Census. New York: United Nations.

Utas, Bo (ed). 1983. Women in Islamic Societies: Social Attitudes and Historical Perspectives. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Studies on Asian Topics 6. London: Curzon Press.

Van Dusen, Roxann. 1977. Integrating Women into National Economies: Programming Considerations with Special Reference to the Near East. Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development, Near East Bureau.

Van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O. 1971. Sociology of the Middle East. Leiden: E.J.Brill.

Waddy, Charis. 1980. Women in Muslim History. London: Longmans.

Wikan, Unni. 1982. Behind the Veil in Arabia: Women in Oman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Zāhir, Aḥmad Jamāl. 1983. Al-Mar'a fi'l-duwal al-khalīj al-'arabī: dirāsa maydanīya [Women in the Arabian Gulf States: A Field Study]. Kuwait: Dhāt al-silāsil.

## II. Articles and Reports:

Abbott, Nabia. 1975. "Women." In Ruth Nanda Anshen (ed.), Mid-East: World Center. Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 196 - 212.

‘Abd-al-Jawwād, In‘ām Sayyid. 1982. "Al-‘awāmil al-binā'iya al-muḥaddida li'l-mushārīka al-ijtimā'iya li'l-mar'a al-khalījīya [Structural factors affecting participation of Gulf women in society]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Dār Kāẓima, I: 147 - 169.

‘Abd-al-Khālīq, Nāṣif. 1981, 1982. "Dawr al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya fī idārat al-tanmīya [The role of Kuwaiti women in development administration]." Journal of the Social Sciences 9.4 and in Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt, Kuwait: Dār Kāẓima, I: 373 - 479. Also appeared in the Kuwaiti daily Al-Siyāsa of Friday, 29 Jan., 1982.

‘Abd-al-Mu‘ṭī, ‘Abd-al-Bāsiṭ. 1982. "Fi'l-wa‘ī al-zā'if bi'l-mar'a al-khalījīya [False consciousness of Gulf women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Dār Kāẓima, II: 723 - 754.

‘Abd-al-Raḥmān, ‘Awāṭif. 1982. "Ṣūrat al-mar'a al-khalījīya fī ṣaḥāfat al-khalīj al-‘arabī [Gulf women as pictured by the Arabian Gulf press]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Dār Kāẓima, II: 640 - 680.

Abdel Kader, Soha. "A Survey of Trends in Social Sciences Research on Women in the Arab Region, 1960 - 1980." In UNESCO (ed.), Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter; Paris: UNESCO, 139-175.

‘Abd-al-Bāsiṭ, Aḥmed A. 1975. "[On working women in Kuwait and the Gulf]," in Arabic. In Al-Jam‘īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'iya al-nisā'iya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (eds.), Dirāsāt ‘an awḍā‘ al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-‘arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 305 - 334.

Ahmed, Leila. 1982. "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem." Feminist Studies 8.3 (Fall): 521 - 534.

Allaghi, Farida and Aisha Almana. 1984. "Survey of Research on Women in the Arab Gulf Region." In UNESCO (eds.), Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter; Paris: UNESCO, 14 - 40.

Ansari, Ghaus. 1985. "Modernization in the Arabian Gulf States: Paradigm of Cultural Change." Eastern Anthropologist (Lucknow) 38.3 (July - Sept.): 189 - 205.

Al-ʿAṭīya, Fawziya. 1979. "Al-Ḥaḍāra wa'l-taghyīr al-ijtimāʿī wa-athārhumā fī musāhimat al-mar'a fī manṭiqat al-khalīj al-ʿarabī [Civilization and social change as they affect women's participation in the Arabian Gulf region]." Paper delivered at Basra University conference, "Al-Insān wa'l-mujtamiʿ [Man and Society]."

Blee, Kathleen M. and Dwight B. Billings. 1986. "Reconstructing Daily Life in the Past: An Hermeneutical Approach to Ethnographic Data." Sociological Quarterly 27, 4: 443-462.

Bonnell, Victoria E. 1960. "The Uses of Theory, Concepts and Comparison in Historical Sociology." Comparative Study of Society and History 22: 156 - 173.

Carsch, Henry. 1967. "Fairy Tales and Socialization: The Fairy in Grimms' Tales," in Robert Endleman (ed.), Personality and Social Life. New York: Random House, 238-261.

Cain, Melinda L. 1981. "Overview: Women and technology --- resources for our future." In Dauber, Roslyn and Melinda L. Cain (eds.) Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 3 - 8.

Calverley, Eleanor T. 1920. "Beauty for ashes." Moslem World, 10: 391 - 401.

Chaleby, K. 1985. "Women of polygamous marriages in an inpatient psychiatric-service in Kuwait." Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 173 (November 1), 56 - 58.

Chambers, Ross. 1980. "Comments on Orientalism. Two Reviews. (2.) Representation and Authority." Comparative Study of Society and History 22: 509 - 512. (See also Rassam, Amal, 1980, below.)



Cornell, M. Louise. 1976. "The Development of Education for Women in Kuwait." Canadian and International Education 5 (December): 73 - 84.

Durkheim, Emile and Marcel Mauss. 1903. "De quelques formes primitives de classification." L'Année sociologique 6:(1901-1902) 1-72. Tr. Rodney Needham, Primitive Classification, London: Cohen and West, 1963.

Al-Falāh, Noura (Al-Fallāh, Nūra). 1984. "Kuwait: God's will --- and the process of socialization." In Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood is Global. Garden City, New York: Anchor Doubleday, 410 - 413.

Al-Fallāh, Nūra. 1982. "Naḡrat al-i'lam al-'arabī ilā 'amal al-mar'a: al-i'lam al-kuwaytī al-ṣuḡufī wa'l-mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [The Arab media's view of women's work: Kuwaiti press and women in development in the 1980's]." In Yaḡyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Dār Kāẓima, II: 681 - 722.

Al-Ḥamar, 'Abd-al-Malik Yūsuf. 1975. "Al-Ta'llīm al-'ām wa'l-inma' al-basharī fi'l-khalīj al-'arabī: min manẓūr al-jānib al-kayfī [Education and human resources in the Arabian Gulf: a qualitative perspective]." Majalla dirāsāt 'an al-khalīj wa'l-jazīra al-'arabīya [Journal of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies], 1:3 (July): 111-124.

Harms, John B. 1984. "Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge and the Interpretation of Weltanschauungen," Social Science Journal 21, 2 (April): 33 - 48.

Hatem, Mervat. 1985. "Conservative patriarchal modernization in the Arabian Gulf." Contemporary Marxism 1985: 96 - 109.

Al-Hibri, Azizah. 1981. "Capitalism is an advanced stage of patriarchy: but Marxism is not feminism." In Sargent, Lydia (ed.), Women and Revolution. Boston: South End Press, 165 - 193.

Ḥijāzī, Muṣṭafā. 1985. "Wāqi' al-mar'a al-'arabīya wa-qaḏīyat al-tanmīya: kayfa taghayyur al-mar'a intāj is-tilābihā [The Reality of Arab Women and the Issue of Development]." Al-Wahda Year 1, no. 9 (June): 14 - 28.



Hill, Allan G. 1978. "Fertility trends and differentials in Kuwait." In Allman, James (ed.), Women's Status and Fertility in the Muslim World. New York: Praeger, 95-122.

Hjärpe, Jan. 1983. "The Attitude of Islamic Fundamentalism towards the Question of Women in Islam." In Utas, Bo (ed.), Women in Islamic Societies. London: Curzon, 12-25.

Ḥusayn, 'Aliyah Ḥasan. 1982. "Al-Mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-muṭallāqa wa'l-'āmal: Dirāsa anthrōbūlūjīya li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-muṭallāqa [Divorced Kuwaiti women and work: an anthropological study of divorced Kuwaiti women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 813 - 836.

Hussain, Asaf. 1984. "The Ideology of Orientalism." In Hussain, Asaf (ed.), Orientalism, Islam and Islamists. Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 5 - 22.

Joseph, Suad. 1986. "Study of Middle Eastern Women: Investments, Passions, and Problems." International Journal of Middle East Studies 18.4 (November): 501 - 509.

Keddie, Nikki. 1979. "Problems in the study of Middle Eastern women." International Journal of Middle East Studies 10: 225 - 240.

Al-Khālīd, Fiḍḍa. 1982. "Ad-Dawr al-tanmawī li'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [The development role of Kuwaiti women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Kāzima, I: 266 - 373.

Kottak, Conrad Phillip. 1970. "Towards a Comparative Science of Society." Comparative Study of Society and History 12: 92 - 109.

Marshall, Susan E. 1984. "Paradoxes of Change: Culture Crisis, Islamic Revival, and the Reactivation of Patriarchy." Journal of Asian and African Studies 19, 1-2: 1-17.

Meleis, Afaf I. 1982. "Effect of modernization on Kuwaiti women." Social Science and Medicine 16, 9: 965 - 970.

Meleis, Afaf Ibrahim, Nagat el-Sanabary and Diane Beeson. 1979. "Women, modernization and education in Kuwait." Comparative Education Review 23: (February) 115 - 124.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir Salmān. 1982. "Al-Mar'a wa-ʿalāqāt al-intāj fī mujtamiʿāt al-khalīj al-taqlīdīya [Women and the Mode of Production in Traditional Gulf Society]". In Yaḥyā Fāʿiz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Kāẓima, I: 170 - 185.

Al-Najjār, Bāqir. 1983. "Al-Mar'a: dirāsa li-wāqiʿ al taghayyur wa-mushkilatih [Women: a study of the problem of change]". Majalla kitābāt al-baḥraynīya. Journal of Bahrayni Writings. March-April.

-----, 1985. "Al-Mar'a al-ʿarabīya wa-taḥawwulāt al-niẓām al-ijtimāʿī al-ʿarabī: ḥālat al-mar'a al-ʿarabīya al-khalījīya [Arab women and transformation of Arab social order: the case of women in Arab Gulf societies]". Journal of the Social Sciences 13.4 (Winter): 155 - 166, 586.

Nath, Kamla. 1978. "Education and employment among Kuwaiti women." In Beck, Lois and Nikki Keddie (ed.), Women in the Muslim World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 172 - 188.

Nelson, Cynthia. 1974. "Public and private politics: women in the Middle Eastern world." American Ethnologist, 1:3 (August); also appeared in Ibrahim, Saad El-Din and Nicholas S. Hopkins (eds.), Arab Society in Transition. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1977, 121-149.

-----, 1973. "Women and power in nomadic societies of the Middle East." In Nelson, Cynthia (ed.), The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Greater Society. Berkeley, CA: University of California Institute of International Studies, 43 - 59.

----- and Virginia Oleson. 1977. "Veil of Illusion: A Critique of the Concept of Equality in Western Feminist Thought." Catalyst 10 - 11 (Summer): 8 - 36.

Oussedik, Fatma. 1984. "The Conditions Required for Women to Conduct Research on Women in the Arab Region." In UNESCO, Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter; Paris: UNESCO, 113 - 121.

Pike, Kenneth L. 1969. "Language as Behavior and Etic and Emic Standpoints for the Description of Behavior." In Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.), Social Psychology: Readings and Perspective. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Portis, E. B. 1986. "Theoretical Authority in Social Science," Social Science Journal 23, 4: 397 - 410.

Al-Quṭub, Ishāq. 1976. "Ittijāhāt al-fatāt al-jāmi'īya al-khalījiya naḥwa ba'd al-qaḍāyā al-ijtimā'īya wa'l-waṭanīya [Orientations of young Gulf university women to some socio-nationalistic issues]." In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [Women's Cultural-Social Society], (eds.), Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 271 - 285.

Rassam, Amal. 1980. "Comments on Orientalism. Two Reviews. (1.) Representation and Aggression." Comparative Study of Society and History 22: 505 - 508. (See also Chambers, Ross, 1980, above.)

-----, 1984. "Toward a Theoretical Framework for the Study of Women in the Arab World." In UNESCO, Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. London: Frances Pinter; Paris: UNESCO, 122 - 138.

Robertson, Ina L. 1940. "Arab Women of Al-Kuwait." In Henry Field (ed.), Folklore and Customs of Southwestern Asia. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 161-165.

Al-Rujaib, Laṭīfa 'Īsā. 1982. "Naḥwa idmāj al-mar'a al-kuwaytīya al-ma'āla fi'l-tanmīya [Towards inclusion of Kuwaiti women breadwinners in development]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamāniyāt. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 794 - 812.

Al-Rumaiḥī, Muḥammad. 1975a. "[The Reality of women in the Gulf]." In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya wa'l-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (ed.), Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 5-12.

-----, 1975b. "Madhkhal li-dirāsāt al-wāqī' wa'l-taghayyur al-ijtimā'ī fī mujtami'āt al-khalīj al-mu'āṣira [Introduction to the study of reality and social change in the societies of the Arabian Gulf]." Journal of the Social Sciences (Kuwait) 3.2.

-----, 1982. "Athar al-naft 'alā waḍ' al-mar'a al-'arabīya fi'l-khalīj [Effect of oil on the position of Arab women in the Gulf]." In Markaz dirāsāt al-waḥda al-

ʿarabīya (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa-dawruhā fī ḥarakat al-waḥda al-ʿarabīya [Women and Their Role in the Arab Unity Movement]. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 231-51.

Al-Sabah, Suad M. 1985. "Working Women in the Gulf." The Arab Gulf Journal 5, 1 (April): 47 - 57.

Sabagh, Georges and Iman Ghazalla. 1986. "Arab Sociology Today: A View from Within." In Ralph H. Turner and James Short, Jr. (eds.), Annual Review of Sociology 12: 373-399.

Al-Sa'dāwī, Nawāl. 1982. "Al-ʿaqabāt amām al-mar'a al-ʿarabīya wa'l-tanmīya: ma'a tarkīz ʿalā mashkilāt al-mar'a al-khalījīya [Obstacles facing Arab women and development: with concentration on problems of Gulf women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt. Kuwait: Kāzimah, I: 127 - 146.

Sayigh, Rosemary. 1982. "Roles and functions of Arab women: a critique." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Kāzima, I: 642 - 659.

Shilling, Nancy Adams. 1980. "The Social and Political Roles of Arab Women: A Study of Conflict." In Smith, Jane I. (ed.), Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies. Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 100 - 145.

Shiner, L. E. 1975. "Tradition / Modernity: An Ideal Type Gone Astray." Comparative Study of Society and History 17: 245 - 252.

Sweet, Louise E. 1967. "The Women of 'Ain ad Dayr." Anthropological Quarterly, 40: 167 - 183.

-----, 1974. "In Reality: Some Middle Eastern Women." In Matthiasson, Carolyn J. (ed.), Many Sisters: Women in Cross-cultural Perspective. New York: Free Press, 379-397.

Al-Tālib, ʿUmar M. Muṣṭafā. 1982. "Taṭawwur al-mar'a fī mujtami' al-khalīj al-ʿarabī min khilāl al-qīṣṣa [Development of women of Arabian Gulf society as seen through fiction]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād, (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Kāzima, II: 570 - 639.

Al-Thāqib, Fahad. 1975. "Mawqif al-kuwayt min makānat al-mar'a fī mujtami' nā al-ma'āṣir [The situation of Kuwait concerning the place of women in contemporary society]." In Al-Jam'īya al-thaqafīya al-ijtimā'īya al-nisā'īya [The Women's Cultural-Social Society] (ed.), Dirāsāt 'an awḍā' al-mar'a fi'l-kuwayt wa'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on the Situation of Women in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf]. Kuwait: Maṭba'a Fahad Marzūq, 189 - 287.

Turkī, Muṣṭafā. 1982. "Al-Dāfi'īya li'l-injāz 'inda 'l-mar'a al-kuwaytīya [Motivation for achievement in Kuwaiti women]." In Yaḥyā Fā'iz Al-Ḥaddād (ed.), Al-Mar'a wa'l-tanmīya fi'l-thamānīyāt [Women and Development in the '80s]. Kuwait: Kāzima, I: 186-204.

Van Dusen, Roxann. 1976. "The Study of Women in the Middle East: Some Thoughts." Bulletin of the Middle East Studies Association (May): 1 - 20.

Waines, David. 1982. "Through a Veil Darkly: The Study of Women in Muslim Societies. A Review Article." Comparative Study of Society and History 24: 642 - 659.

Wallace, Ruth A. 1988. "Catholic Women and the Creation of a New Social Reality." Gender and Society 2, 1 (March): 24 - 38.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1981. "Comparative Ideology." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 22, 3-4: 121-140.

Al-Zaydī, 'Abbās Yāsir. 1979. "Dirāsāt 'an al-mar'a fi'l-khalīj al-'arabī [Studies on women in the Arabian Gulf]." Paper presented at conference "Al-Insān wa'l-mujtami'" [Man and Society] at Basra University. II: 149 - 232.

### III. Bibliographies:

Buvinic, Mayra. 1976. Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography. Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

Clements, Frank A. 1985. Kuwait. Oxford: Clío.



Duley, Margot I. 1986. "Women in the Islamic Middle East and North Africa." In Duley, Margot I. and Mary I. Edwards (eds.), The Cross-Cultural Study of Women: A Comprehensive Guide. NY: Feminist Press at The City University of New York, 406 - 437.

Gulick, John and Margaret E. Gulick. 1974. An Annotated Bibliography of Sources Concerned with Women in the Modern Middle East. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Near East Paper 17.

Meghdessian, Samita Rafidi. 1980. The Status of the Arab Woman: A Selected Bibliography. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Al-Qazzaz, Ayad. 1977. Women in the Middle East and North Africa: An Annotated Bibliography. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, Middle East Monographs 2. Originally published as Women in the Arab World. Detroit, MI: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Bibliography 2.

Raccagni, Michelle. 1978. The Modern Arab Woman: A Bibliography. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow.

Ramzi, H. 1973. Bibliography of Published Arabic Books on Women 1972 - 1973. Cairo: National Center for Sociological and Criminological Research.

Rihani, May. 1977. Development as if Women Mattered: An Annotated Bibliography with a Third World Focus. Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council.

Van Dusen, Roxann. 1977. "Bibliography: Women in the Near East." In Integrating Women into National Economies: Programming Considerations with Special Reference to the Near East. Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development, Near East Bureau.